THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
BJRL	*The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review*
Nov T	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
PEQ	*Palestinian Exploration Quarterly*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RQ	*Revue de Qumran*
SEA	*Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to provide an analysis of The Book of Jubilees, using the methods of form and redaction criticism. The inadequacy of previous analyses of the book[1]--and consequently, of its eschatology--is due primarily to the lack of the use of these methods by the authors. Although there are numerous differences of detail in previous interpretations, three common problems underlie these differences. 1) The authors assume a single author for Jubilees; consequently, they infer a single eschatology. 2) They make no distinction between the major function of a passage and the subservient function of various elements in the passage. As a result, they sometimes assign too much significance to details which have been passed along in a unit as incidental material. 3) They overlook the way that material taken over from one source acquires a new interpretation in a new context. As a result, when contradictory elements appear, they usually are assumed to be in competition rather than in a relation of interpretation and that which is interpreted.

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[1] The two major studies of Jubilees in this century have been R.H. Charles, The Book of Jubilees (London: A. and C. Black, 1902), cited hereafter as Charles, Jubilees; and Michel Testuz, Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés (Paris: Librarie Minard, 1960). Other studies, shorter but significant, containing extensive attention to eschatology in Jubilees have been François Martin, "Le Livre des Jubilés: but et procédés de l'auteur--ses doctrines," RB, n.s. VIII (1911), pp. 321-344, 502-533; Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde, reprint of the 1934 2nd Edition (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), pp. 27-30; and Joseph Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, From its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishna, trans. William Stinespring (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), pp. 302-309. A shorter version of Charles' work is found in R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English, Vol. II: Pseudepigrapha (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), pp. 1-82. Cited hereafter as Charles, Pseudepigrapha.

These weaknesses are reflected in disagreements as to which verses are eschatological, the time table of the day of judgment and the new age, and the fate of the dead in the judgment. Charles, Martin, Volz, Klausner, and Testuz all saw the major eschatological passages in Jubilees to lie in chap.'s i and xxiii, but they differed as to which verses in these chapters are specifically eschatological. Charles, Martin, and Volz agreed that i, 15-29 is to be so regarded.[1] Klausner specifically quoted i, 8-18, 22, 26, 28-29, which indicates that he accepted the total unit i, 7-29 as eschatological.[1] Testuz interpreted i, 7-18 as a reference to the Babylonian exile and the return from exile and believed that vss. 7-25 and 28 were added to the book by a later hand. Whether he viewed the prayer of Moses as in any way eschatological is not indicated.[2] Charles, Martin, and Testuz all interpreted xxiii, 11-31 eschatologically. Volz limited the eschatological verses to vss. 16-31. Klausner regarded the entire chapter as an example of the four-part eschatological scheme mentioned in connection with Jub. i.[3]

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[1] Charles, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 11-13; Martin, op. cit., pp. 522-533; Volz, p. 28.

Their failure to recognize i, 4b-26 as a separate piece of redactional material and i, 27-28 as another and to recognize the composite nature of i, 29, however, resulted in several questions going unasked and in the inability to recognize the cruciality of i, 4b-26 for the meaning of the entire book. Even within the passage, no reason has been sought for the presence of two accounts of the return from exile, no analysis has been made of the way the new context has affected the biblical sources used, and no comparison has been made between the use of the sources here and their use in the subsequent narrative.

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[1] This does not rule out the interpretation of i, 7-18 as a reference to the Babylonian exile and the return. It simply means that Klausner interpreted the entire passage according to his own preconceived eschatological scheme--sin, punishment, repentance, redemption. Klausner, op. cit., pp. 305-306.

[2] Testuz, op. cit., pp. 39-42, 166.

[3] Charles, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 48-49; Martin, op. cit., pp. 522-533; Testuz, op. cit., pp. 166-168; Volz op. cit., p. 28; Klausner, op. cit., p. 306. Testuz, however, believed vss. 11-32 are an editorial addition.

Our study will show three things. 1) The entire passage i, 4b-26 has eschatological implications and has drastically altered the meaning of the narrative in chaps. ii-l. 2) i, 4b-26 is from a redactor of the original work, a redactor who worked during the period of the Maccabean wars. 3) i, 27-28 is another addition to the original book. It enlarged the scope of both previous editions by introducing an emphasis on the Temple and a new creation motif.

With regard to the problem of a time table for the day of judgment, Charles believed Jubilees anticipates a temporary Messianic kingdom and that at its close there will be a final judgment on both the "human and superhuman" worlds. He thought that xxiii, 11 indicates that the Messianic kingdom will be preceded by a day of judgment,[1] but that xxiii, 30 reflects a concept of the kingdom which precludes such a view.[2] The latter verse, he argued, indicates that the kingdom evolves slowly, and such an evolution allows no place for judgment at any point within the process. The judgment, therefore, must come at the close of kingdom.[1] On the other hand, Martin said that the text of Jubilees does not enable us to be certain about the relation of the last judgment to the coming of the kingdom. Since all the generations to arise until the great judgment will live brief lives (xxiii, 11), while longevity is one of the principle characteristics of the kingdom (xxiii, 27-28), the advent of that kingdom can take place only after the final judgment. This kingdom will come as the prelude to the kingdom, perhaps as its first act. On the other hand, he pointed out, no clear mention is made of such a judgment between the exposure of Israel's unfaithfulness and the announcement of her conversion by the children or even at any point in the table of events that precede the kingdom. He found it difficult to think, therefore, that the children of Israel will be converted only after the judgment. The judgment, he said, must come at the beginning of the kingdom.[2]

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[1] Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 48.

[2] Ibid., p. 49.

Testuz's solution to the problem was to postulate three eras of history, to assert that both the first and the second eras pass into their successors with a struggle, and to say that the struggle in the latter instance is the Maccabean wars.[1] He saw xxiii, 19 as a portrayal of the first great eschatological act--a civil war,[2] accompanied by a renewed interest in and study of the Law.[3] A period of political and religious renewal follows,[4] and eventually, the covenant is renewed.[5] The period of preparation--the period for the study of the Law--which begins with the Maccabean revolt, is a limited period, followed by the Messianic Age proper. The end of this period will be characterized by a great war, just as was the beginning. We must note, however, said Testuz, that we are concerned with two different wars.[6]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Martin, op. cit., p. 529.

Volz believed that Jubilees reflects a scheme in which Yahweh will enable Israel to drive out her enemies, after which will come a day of fulfillment of God's promises to the fathers, and he noted that the day of salvation for

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[1] Testuz, op. cit., p. 166.

[2] Ibid., pp. 31, 175.

[3] Ibid., pp. 169, 173.

[4] Ibid., p. 175.

[5] Ibid., p. 168.

[6] Testuz relied heavily upon xxiv, 28 and 29 as verses that speak of separate events. The latter speaks of a war of the last days, a war in which the sect of which the author is a part is the instrument of God against the pagans. After this--perhaps simultaneous with it--comes the great judgment. Ibid., pp. 170-171.

Israel is a day of judgment on all those who spread sin in the earth.[1] He pointed out, however, that within Jubilees there are contradictions between a particularistic view on the one hand and an expectation of world renewal on the other.[2]

These examples show how ingenious one may be in trying to reconcile irreconcilable elements of a piece of literature if the basic presupposition is that one person wrote the document. A form and redaction analysis of Jubilees, however, reveals that the references to the day of judgment and the scene in xxiii, 14-31 are from different traditions. Moreover, we do not have a mere linking of traditions. The "author" of the second edition of Jubilees interpreted the events of his day as the day of judgment, the day mentioned in the other stratum. Martin sensed different traditions in the book, and Testuz believed that the eschatological passage in ch. xxiii was added at Qumran.[3] Martin did not grasp the full significance of the presence of various traditions, however, and Testuz assumed that even major editorial additions do not change the essential thrust of the book. Form and redaction criticism show that editorial work frequently is not merely a matter of interpolations, but of major redaction and that the whole meaning of a work may thus be changed. Such, in fact, will be shown to be the case with Jubilees.

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[1] Volz, op. cit., p. 28.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] Martin, op. cit., p. 529; Testuz, op. cit., pp. 175-177.

A third example of the confusion resulting from inadequate methodology is the various attempts to portray the life of the wicked after death. Testuz believed that the author of Jubilees expected their bodies to be destroyed and their spirits to be imprisoned in Sheol, where they will undergo eternal torment.[1] Martin cited numerous references to support this view that the author of Jubilees expected sinners to descend into the depths of the earth for eternal condemnation, a state which is never really described, he noted, but which is certain![2] Volz commented that in the final analysis there are contradictory elements throughout the book. The fate of individuals in the book is not consistently described, he said. Only xxiii, 31 speaks of the dead coming into salvation, and this is a reference to martyrs. The fathers are said to sleep an eternal sleep (xxiii, 1; xxxvi, 1; xlv, 15). He also thought that v,

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[1] Testuz, op. cit., pp. 170-171. Some of the passages which he cites for his analysis are v, 9; ix, 15; x, 5-12; xxxvi, 10.

[2] Martin, op. cit., pp. 523-524. Some of the passages he cites in his analysis are vii, 29; ix, 15; xxxvi, 10.

15-16 and xxvi, 9f suggest that the dead must appear at the judgment of the world. Otherwise, nothing is said of their intermediate state.[1]

All these problems are the result of an inadequate method. The writers took no account of the growth of the traditions underlying the book and of the way that an author of such a work was not an author in the sense that we use the term today. Volz was aware of at least some of the use of traditions, and Testuz sensed the editorial addition of large blocks of material, but even they did not fully appreciate the growth of the traditions behind the production of Jubilees. Neither did any of the interpreters ask the question of the function of material. If a block of material is intended for the purpose of teaching eschatological doctrine, we should expect more detail than if it is used for some other purpose.

The present study is offered as a contribution to the ongoing task of intertestamental studies. First, however, we must say a word about eschatology.

B. The Problem of Eschatology

Writing early in this century, A.B. Davidson described eschatology simply as an account of the final condition of man and the world as presented in scripture.[1] A few years later, Nathaniel Schmidt described it as the doctrine concerning last things, "a doctrine dealing with man's condition after death, the destiny of the nation, and the end of the world."[2] This emphasis on last things has been characteristic of most definitions of the term.[3] Volz has attempted to hold onto a community aspect of eschatology by speaking of it as the teaching of last things

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[1] Volz, op. cit., p. 29.

> so far as they are a central act or situation concerning the community--a people or the world. An eschatology of the individual is a self-contradiction. Not to eschatology, then, do the assertions about death, about the lot of the individual after death, belong where the individual in and of himself is concerned. Only insofar as the individual participates in the eschatological act or situation as a part of the whole is it to be taken into account. 4

Some have attempted to broaden eschatology by distinguishing between two types--prophetic and apocalyptic.[1] Prophetic eschatology is described as that in which Israel's enemies are destroyed, the kingship is restored, and a golden age of peace and prosperity begins. Apocalyptic eschatology is described as a dualistic view in which is expected an end to the present world, the destruction of cosmic forces which threaten man, and a resurrection of the dead, in which there is an emphasis on the new life of the individual. Generally speaking, there is no real concern over the length of the messianic age in prophetic eschatology. The emphasis falls on its appearance. In apocalyptic eschatology, the world to come usually is portrayed as endless or timeless.

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[1] A.B. Davidson, "Eschatology," A Dictionary of the Bible Dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents Including the Biblical Theology, Vol. I, ed. James A. Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), p. 734. Cited hereafter as Hastings, Dictionary.

[2] Nathaniel Schmidt, "The Origin of Jewish Eschatology," JBL, XLI (1922), p. 102.

[3] Mowinckel says that every eschatology has some form of dualistic conception of history and implies an end of the present state of things and the beginning of an essentially different kind of order. Sigmund Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G.W. Anderson (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954), p. 125. Cited hereafter as Mowinckel, He That Cometh.

[4] Volz, op. cit., p. 1.

Klausner pointed out that for a long period of time there was nothing that could be called Jewish orthodoxy and that during that time the two concepts just described overlapped. Sometimes, the description of one was given the name of the other.[2]

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[1] R.H. Charles, Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism, and Christianity--A Critical History (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), pp. 177ff. Cited hereafter as Charles, Eschatology. Klausner, Messianic Idea, pp. 408-426. D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), esp. pp. 263-271. The latter is cited hereafter as Russell, Method.

[2] Klausner, op. cit., p. 410. Mowinckel denies the legitimacy of such distinctions. Cf. Mowinckel, op. cit., pp. 125-133.

In favor of a broader view of eschatology is the way that Old Testament writers, though not using the term *eschatos* (after all, they wrote Hebrew, not Greek), spoke of future conditions when the life of Israel and the world would be decisively affected by acts of God. The golden age of prophetic vision is frequently seen as the time when Israel's history will be fulfilled in such a way that no later disruption seems possible (Jer. xxxi, 31-34; Is. ii; ix; xi).[1]

Even to speak of prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology, however, does not entirely solve the problem. Within so-called apocalyptic eschatology the relation between the World to Come, the present age, and the eschaton remains a problem. One may see the World to Come as either the fulfillment of the present age or as that which comes only after the present age has been demolished.[2] If there is a day of judgment, is it a day in history?

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[1] In light of the view of the future in these passages, among others, it is inconceivable that Klausner could say that "where earthly life does not cease completely, there sin cannot pass away or be abolished, and the complete perfection of human nature remains impossible. Pure spirituality and near approach to divinity...belong only to the World to Come...." Klausner, op. cit., p. 418.

[2] Frost spoke of eschatology as a form of thought characterized by finality. The eschaton is the goal of the time process, after which nothing further can occur. It is the climax of teleological history. He concedes that the

Obviously, the nature of one's eschatological view implies a certain understanding of history and of revelation. If the present age culminates in the World to Come, a positive evaluation of the present is implied. On the other hand, the demolition of the present age indicates a different evaluation. As for revelation, is it something within history or something that destroys history? Or are such alternatives the only possible ones?[1]

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eschaton may possess characteristics of time and continuity, but says it cannot--even in thought--be superseded by subsequent events. Stanley B. Frost, "Eschatology and Myth," VT, II (1932), p. 70.

[1] Ernst Jenni has attempted to bridge the gap between an apocalypticism which negates history, on the one hand, and an idealism which sees history as an unfolding, on the other, by defining eschatology in terms of the coming of Yahweh. "...Yahweh keeps on influencing history and completes it by definitely establishing his dominion and granting his people complete fellowship with himself....Eschatology is the part of the history of salvation which is still in prospect and which presses for realization. At the same time, it is not a question of rectilinear further development of existing conditions, with which man could even assist or which he could at least calculate....The present state of affairs must make room for a new, different state of affairs in all kinds of catastrophes....The present state of affairs in the world must perish because Yahweh is coming and will create everything new, not vice versa....Because the same God who will reveal himself victoriously in the future, has already manifested himself in history from time to time, and still does, it is, for the present, not possible to make a complete separation between history and eschatology." Ernst Jenni, "Eschatology of the Old Testament," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. II, ed. George A. Buttrick et. al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 127. Cited hereafter as IDB.

Jenni's comments are well taken in light of the way that Joseph's stay in Egypt results first in blessings for

Another danger in speaking of eschatology is that the adjectives defining the type with which one is dealing will be concerned only with the content of a document. There also is an apocalyptic hermeneutic, however, which may be present in documents that in content are more prophetic than apocalyptic. Russell has pointed out that in their use of the prophetic texts, the apocalyptic writers shifted the emphasis of the oracles. Rather than viewing them as words spoken to the prophets' own day, they viewed them as prognostication. References to future events, which had been important for strengthening or warning the prophets' audiences, now came to be heard as oracles pertaining precisely to the apocalyptic writers' own day.[1] In characterizing the eschatology of any document, then, we must speak of both the content of the strata and of the hermeneutic employed by the author--or authors--and we must indicate the category to which each element of the content belongs.

So far as content is concerned, in the present work, eschatology will be used to mean any view of the future in

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Egypt and then in blessings for Israel. Cf. Gerhard von Rad, Genesis: A Commentary, trans. John H. Marks, from the 1956 German Edition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 428-434. Cited hereafter as Von Rad, Genesis. Walter Harrelson, Interpreting the Old Testament (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 72. Cited hereafter as Harrelson, Interpreting the OT.

[1] Russell, Method, pp. 96-100.

which there are events anticipated as having significance for the life of Israel and the world, events beyond which life will be significantly different. The traditional categories of prophetic and apocalyptic will be used, but notice will be taken of the way in which any element of Jubilees fits whatever category to which it is assigned. In those instances where both prophetic and apocalyptic elements are present, this will be noted also.

Some passages may be eschatological in and of themselves. Others may contain traditional eschatological material, but not themselves be eschatological. In some instances, units of material which were not intended eschatologically may have become the occasion for intentional eschatological teaching by the attachment of lengthy passages, without the unit itself becoming truly eschatological. The major eschatological passage in Jubilees (xxiii, 14-20, 22-31) is such an attachment. Our concern in this study will be to examine all those passages which either teach or reflect eschatology.

C. PROCEDURE

The procedure to be followed for the study involves an examination of the Ethiopic text, an analysis of the passages that either function eschatologically or contain eschatological content, and a presentation of the eschatological outlook as it appears in those passages. The actual presentation of the fruits of that work will be presented in separate chapters and appendixes. Chapter II contains the history of the strata of Jubilees. Chapter III is an analysis of those chapters which function eschatologically. That is, it is an analysis of those passages whose primary purpose is to instruct, in some way, in matters of eschatology. Chapter IV is an analysis of those passages which contain significant eschatological content, but whose function is not eschatological. In an appendix we examine those passages in which eschatological terms are used, but which are not truly eschatological in intent.

The text on which the study is based is a revision, made by the present writer, of R.H. Charles' translation, a revision based on a comparison with Charles' own edition of the Ethiopic text and microfilms of the extant Ethiopic manuscripts from the British Museum and the National Library in Paris, the same manuscripts on which Charles' edition of the text is based.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE GROWTH OF JUBILEES

The first edition of the Book of Jubilees was an angelic discourse, created by moulding together a wide variety of traditions. Its purpose was to teach a particular system of Torah. It has grown into a book whose purpose is to speak both promise and judgment.

A. The Angelic Discourse

The body of Jubilees is the angelic discourse in ii, 1-l, 4. This discourse was created by an author who drew upon traditions from numerous sources. There is an obvious parallel between the outline of the narrative and that of Genesis and Exodus, but numerous literary forms may be detected in the book, thereby indicating an extensive use of non-canonical traditions. Among these traditions are an elaborate calendrical system,[1] a thorough genealogical tradition,[1] a land division tradition,[2] traditions accounting for the Levitical priesthood,[3] and at least two traditions about the heavenly tablets.[4] There also is evidence that the author drew upon an Abraham tradition titled The Ten Tests of Abraham,[5] or something similar, and that he used Abraham traditions that had been expanded at length before he received them.[6] There are a number of blessings and curses,[1] and at one point we may detect an oath-taking ceremony.[2]

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[1] It is beyond the scope of our study to go into an analysis of the nature of the calendar in Jubilees. It is described briefly in Jub. vi, 23-38 Throughout the book, events are carefully dated as to the jubilee and the year within the jubilee. This calendar system is itself a part of Torah. It is the correct measure of time, a measure established by God himself (vi, 32, 38).

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[1] The birth and marriage of the ancestors, the names of their wives, and the identity of those wives are carefully recorded, as well as the dates for the births and the marriages (cf. for example, iv, 13-15; viii, 5-8).

[2] Jub. viii, 12-17, 22-29; ix, 1-13. The introduction for these divisions is standard throughout the list: And for (name) came forth the (number) portion.... Occasionally, there also is a conclusion for each person's holdings: And this is the land which came forth for (name) as the portion which he was to occupy forever for himself and his sons unto their generations forever.

[3] xxx, 18 attributes it to his zeal for the protection of Israel; xxxi, 14 attributes it to a blessing by Isaac; and xxxii, 3, to Levi's place as the tenth child of Jacob. The function of each of these passages in their context is irrelevant at this point, for regardless of their present function, they all reflect a view of why Levi was the father of the priesthood.

[4] In one tradition they contain Torah (iii, 10; iv, 32; xviii, 19). In another they hold the records of man's deeds (xxx, 19).

[5] xxix, 8.

[6] In xxii, 11-24 there is a blessing which becomes a command in vs. 16. The command itself contains an indictment of the Gentiles. The repetition of and he blessed at vss. 27, 28 show that other blessings of Abraham have been added to the tradition along the way. One is a praise of God; the other, a blessing of Jacob, expanded by a plea to God.

All these traditions have been worked into an angelic discourse narrating Israelite history from the creation till the encampment at Sinai. The purpose of the discourse is to teach and legitimate Torah as it is found therein.[3] This Torah was revealed to Moses along with Pentateuchal law,[4] but it also was practiced by the patriarchs before Moses received it.[5] The introduction to the discourse is Jub. i, 1-4a and part of i, 29.[6]

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[1] iv, 5; viii, 18; ix, 14; xii, 23; xxiv, 28; xxv, 15-23; xxvi, 23-24.

[2] The narrative in which the division of the land occurs closes with an oath-taking ceremony (viii, 14-15).

[3] Cf. for example, ii, 26; ii, 14; vi, 12-16; and xxi, 5.

[4] The belief that various laws not found in the Pentateuch had been given to Moses at the same time that Pentateuchal Torah was given was common during the intertestamental period. Cf. Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, trans. and rev. from the fifth German edition (New York: Meridian Books, Inc. and Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), pp. 8-12; George F. Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim, Vol. I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 251-262. Cited hereafter as Moore, Judaism.

[5] If Torah is as vital as the author asserts, then it must have been known by the patriarchs and obeyed by them. If it was not known to them, its importance is greatly affected.

[6] The author of the discourse did not intend to interpret the Pentateuch, but to draw upon it for the ancestral

The author sees the angels as the agents of God for

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history in order to show the historical origins of certain laws (cf. ii, 17-33; iii, 10-14, 31; vi, 17-23, 28-32; xv, 25-32; xxi, 6-20; xxx, 5-16; xxxii, 10-11; xxxiii, 10; xli, 26; xlix, 7-23). These laws are written on the heavenly tablets, but they were revealed at specific times to Israel. In vi, 22 and xxx, 12 there are references to the previous law, which can hardly be other than Pentateuchal Torah. In both places, the tone of the words is affirmative toward previously given Torah. In both instances, the Jubilees material is presented as complementary material.

The author has followed the same method for establishing the origin of his material that he used in showing the origin of specific laws. He has rooted it in a specific moment of Israelite history reflected in the Pentateuchal narrative. That i, 1-4a was the original introduction is supported by the similarity of method and by the similarity of concern for teaching Torah.

The narrative of which Ex. xxiv, 12-18 is a part (Ex. xxiv, 1-xxxi, 18) reflects two elements of the form Claus Westermann has described as the messenger's speech. Claus Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, trans. Hugh Clayton White (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967), pp. 100-103. This form consists of three elements--1) commissioning, 2) transmission, and 3) delivery. The emphasis is on the transmission of the message. In the Exodus passage, we find the commissioning (xxiv, 12; xxv, 2a) and the transmission (xxv, 2b-xxxi, 17). The delivery is missing, because in the following incident Moses, in his anger, broke the tablets (xxxii, 19). The narrative continues, however, by having Moses return to the mountain and receive a second set of tablets, the delivery of which begins at xxxiv, 32.

An apocalyptic (or semi-apocalyptic) development of this form added a description of the glory of God (cf. Dan. x; Ezek. i-ii; and Rev. i). In this development, neither the commissioning, the transmission, nor the delivery take secondary roles in relation to each other. Each is vital. The message may have been delivered at some point in the past, but in the crucial present it is delivered anew.

The author of the Jubilees discourse has replaced the transmission element of Exodus with his discourse. The delivery is the apocalyptic book itself.

The Exodus account reflects the presence of dual traditions, vss. 15, 18b being one tradition, vss. 16-18a being all the affairs of the universe; this is evident from the way they appear throughout the discourse (ii, 2; iv, 23; v, 6; x, 10; xii, 27; xvi, 8). It is not surprising, therefore, that the discourse is attributed to an Angel of the Presence; it is they who have access to the presence of God himself. The angel can be trusted because of who he is, and this authenticates the message.[1]

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another. By modifying this account, the author has clarified it. In Ex. xxiv, 15-18, a cloud overshadows the mountain six days, and God calls to Moses on the seventh day. According to vs. 15, Moses went up onto the mountain before the six days. According to vs. 18 a, he went up after God called him on the seventh day.

In keeping with his desire to date his events, the author has supplied the date of Moses' ascent--the sixteenth of the month. The reason for this is very simple. On the fifteenth, Moses was celebrating Shevuoth, which is an extremely important festival for the author.

[1] Cf. Moore, Judaism, vol. I, p. 410. D.S. Russell accepts the traditional idea that angels were a means of relating the Transcendent God to earthly affairs, but notes that of equal importance was the growing belief that man's earthly problems were part of a cosmic disorder. Russell, Method, pp. 237-238. At any rate, among those who emphasized the presence and activity of angels, one of their functions was to guide men in the right way. Ibid., p. 242. The message of the discourse is not from one of the angels whose task is to deceive men, but from one whose task is to watch over Israel (xv, 31-32).

The tradition that Torah was delivered by an angel is reflected in the New Testament. Paul mentions it at Gal. iii, 19-20; but there, it is in the context of a denial that Torah given over four hundred years after the promise to Abraham can nullify the promise. Paul does not make much of the angel as such. He simply indicates that God still was the giver of Torah. He does not deprecate the tradition. Neither does he deprecate Torah on the basis of the angelic mediator. He simply sees Torah as a temporary instrument of God (iii, 23-26).

The transition from God as the speaker to the angel as the one who holds the heavenly tablets occurs in i, 29. Only part of this verse, however, belongs to the original introduction--namely, the words, *Then the Angel of the Presence, who went before the camp of Israel, took the tablets of the divisions of the years from the time of the creation,...of the weeks, of the jubilees according to their individual years....*[1]

There are several conclusions to the discourse. The one most in keeping with the introduction and with the purpose of the discourse is l, 3-4a, where the angel looks back to the commandments he has given. As we shall see in the succeeding sections of this historical sketch, the other endings are more in tune with other strata.

When was the angelic discourse constructed? The evidence points to either the late third or the early second century B.C. The author's primary concerns were nakedness

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[1] That we have a transition is obvious in that the angel now becomes the actor, the subject of the verb. The description of the content of the tablets in the phrases quoted above is consistent with the discourse. The repetition of the words *the tables* before *Torah* and the use of *testimony*, rather than *commandment*, mark the phrase containing these words as part of the redaction in i, 4b-26. The last phrases of the verse are concerned with the sanctuary. They are an interpolation (cf. p. 28). Further support for vs. 29 being the first time that the Angel of the Presence appeared in the first edition of Jubilees is that he is first identified there. He is not identified in vss. 27-28 in the present text.

(iii, 31), eating flesh from which the blood has not been drained (vi, 11ff; vii, 1-20, 30ff; xi, 2; xxi, 6, 17f), murder (vii, 27; xi, 12), the practice of astrology (viii, 3ff; xi, 9ff), idolatry (xi, 4, 16; xii, 1-5, 16-20; xx, 7-9), neglect of circumcision (xv, 11ff, 33ff), association with Gentiles (xxii, 16), sacrifices to the dead (xxii, 17), intermarriage with non-Israelites (xv, 1ff; xx, 4-5; xxx, 7ff), and brothers who try to lead brothers astray (xxv, 8f), the corruption of the calendar, and the consequent neglect of the feasts and sabbaths (vi, 32-38).

It is no doubt true, as Zeitlin claims, that all of these polemics might well have found a suitable object at any number of points in Israelite history.[1] Rowley is basically correct, however, when he argues that as a whole, the polemics fit the early Maccabean period, as we know it from I Maccabees, better than any other time.[2] As he says, an examination of I Maccabees reveals that under Antiochus Epiphanes the major concerns of the author of the discourse were present to an exceptionable degree.[3]

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[1] Solomon Zeitlin, "The Book of Jubilees and the Pentateuch," JQR, XLVIII (1957), pp. 222ff.

[2] H.H. Rowley, The Relevance of Apocalyptic (3rd ed. rev.; New York: Association Press, 1963), p. 105. Cited hereafter as Rowley, Relevance.

[3] Cf. I Macc. i, 14-15, 44-49; ii, 45-48.

A modification must be made of Rowley's position, nevertheless, in light of a form analysis of the eschatological passage at xxiii, 14-31. When this passage is recognized as an addition by a later hand,[1] nothing remains of the original discourse to indicate that the struggles with the Seleucids have begun. The angelic discourse, therefore, must be dated sometime after hellenism began to make significant inroads into Jewish culture, but before the Maccabean wars. This places it sometime during the latter part of the third century or the early part of the second century B.C.

B. The Second Edition of Jubilees

Jub. i, 4b-26 supplies a new introduction to the angelic discourse. Both in purpose and in description of the content of God's revelation it is concerned with something other than the discourse originally was intended to be. This introduction tells us that the purpose of the discourse is to reassure and to shame (i, 5-6).[2] Part of i, 29 also was added by this redactor.[1]

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[1] On the relation of xxiii, 14-31 to the discourse, cf. pp. 78-79.

[2] The passage not only interrupts the form of the messenger's speech. It is itself based on two literary forms--the divine command (vss. 5-6, 7-18, 26) and the intercessory prayer (vss. 19-25). The form for the divine command consists of two elements--the command and the purpose. This is

These additions not only added a new element to Jubilees, but changed the entire meaning of the book. The angelic discourse still teaches Torah that must be obeyed, but it also shows why Israel has come upon hard times. She has violated the Torah of the angelic discourse. More important, the book proclaims God's faithfulness to Israel.[2]

The conclusion at 1, 5 is eschatological. It anticipates the time of Israel's renewal. This concern ties it to the interest of i, 4b-26 and should be considered the

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not the same form as that found in the command to the prophets to speak to Israel, such as in Is. xl, 2, 6-8; and Jer. ii, 1-3. There the emphasis falls on the content of the command. The form of Jub. i, 5-6 is like that of Gen. ii, 17; xii, 1-3; Is. vi, 9-13; and Jer. xxx, 1-3. It is an explained command, with emphasis on the reason for the command. For a discussion of the form of the command in which the emphasis is on the content, cf. Westermann, op. cit., pp. 100-115, where the messenger's address is the context of the command. By emphasizing the statement of purpose, the author indicates that we are to look at the message itself, not in and of itself--so far as his use of it goes--but in terms of his stated purpose for the message. The real message, in fact, is the statement of purpose.

The form of the intercessory prayer includes three elements--the plea, the grounds, and the response. The emphasis is on the response. This form may be seen in the prayers of the Israelite leaders in Gen. xviii, 23-32; Ex. xxxii, 11-14; Deut. ix, 25-x, 2; and Amo. vii, 2-6.

[1] The tables of Torah and of the testimony reflects the terminology of i, 4b, 26.

[2] As the exegesis will show, the eschatological passage in xxiii, 14-31 was added by the same person who added i, 4b-26. Cf. pp. 78-79.

work of the redactor who produced the second edition of Jubilees.

i, 29 also reflects the terminology of these additions. The words the tables of Torah and of the testimony are characteristic of vss. 4b-26. They were added here to interpret the nature of the discourse as the redactor intended it to be read.

When and under what circumstances might such a revision of the angelic discourse have taken place? The passage speaks of exile and return from exile, and it calls for confession as a condition for renewal (vs. 22). It reflects a time of trouble. The eschatological passage in xxiii reflects the struggle with the Seleucids, but it also contains an interjection (xxiii, 21) which reflects the situation in the Temple during the time of the Hasmonean rulers --Simon and John Hyrcanus.[1] Consequently, we must date the second edition of Jubilees sometime during the Maccabean struggles, ca. 166-160 B.C. It was produced by an editor who saw the Seleucid oppression as the judgment of God, but who still affirmed the faithfulness of God, even in the midst of destruction and oppression.

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[1] Cf. pp. 74-77.

C. The Sanctuary-oriented Redaction

That i, 27-28 was not added by the same person who added i, 4b-26 is evident from the conflicting commands of the two passages and from their differing definitions of what is to be written. In vss. 4b-26, Moses is commanded to write an account of what will happen throughout the weeks and jubilees forever. In vss. 27-28 the angel is to write an account of what will happen until the establishment of the sanctuary.

These later verses do not change the purpose of the book, but add to its scope. The sanctuary is to have a significant place in the renewed Israel.[1] Not only Torah, but the sanctuary, as well, is to be an object of devotion. The sanctuary-oriented redactor also added phrases to the transition verse i, 29,[1] as well as at iv, 26;[2] xxiii, 21;[3] and xxxi, 14.[4]

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[1] Charles thought vs. 28 should follow vs. 25. Cf. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 13. The interests revealed in vs. 28, however, indicate that it is more closes linked with vs. 27.

We saw in the commands of God in i, 5-6, 7-26 that the purpose of the command is quite significant. The purpose of the command is the key to the purpose of the stratum of Jubilees to which it belongs. The absence of a statement of purpose in vs. 27 indicates that the editor's purpose was essentially the same as that which he understood to be the purpose of the book as he received it, a combination of promise and command. His interpolation, however, has emphasized the promise as it is related to the Temple.

The most likely time and place for the addition of the verses relating to the sanctuary are the Qumran community during the rule of Simon and John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. We know there was much hostility in Qumran toward the Temple hierarchy,[5] and Jubilees was used there.[6] Doubtless, not all the opposition to the hierarchy of the Temple was located at Qumran, but the two factors just mentioned lead to that community as a likely place. The date should be set at ca. 140-104 B.C.[1]

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[1] Certainly, his concern is reflected in until the sanctuary of the Lord is established and the remainder of the verse. The renewal of the creation theme also sounds more like the outlook reflected in the sanctuary-oriented interpolations than that of i, 4b-26; xxiii, 14-31.

[2] On this passage, cf. pp. 147-149.

[3] On this passage, cf. pp. 74-77.

[4] On this passage, cf. pp. 98-99.

[5] The Qumranites described the Temple hierarchy as despisers of Torah--"robbers who lie in wait for a man." Cf. Habb. Comm. IX, 3-7; Geza Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1965), p. 228; Matthew Black, The Scrolls and Christian Origins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), pp. 39-43. The latter is cited hereafter as Black, Scrolls.

[6] The presence of fragments of The Book of Jubilees at Qumran and the similarities between the calendar taught in Jubilees and the one used at Qumran indicate the use of the book there. Cf. Frank M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, rev. ed. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1961), p. 44; Helmer Ringgren, The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls, trans. Emilie T. Sander (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), pp. 225-226; Miller Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: Viking Press, 1958), pp. 238-241. The latter is cited hereafter as Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls.

D. Concluding Remarks

The history of the Book of Jubilees is more complex than previous investigators have recognized. Consequently, the question of eschatology will at the same time be simple and complex to discuss. It will be simple, because conflicting views may now be seen as views belonging to different strata. It will be complex, because the views of the different strata must be understood in relation to each other. They may not be left in isolation, for neither redactor saw any significant contradictions between his work and that of his predecessor.[2]

Nothing has yet been said of the specific milieus of the angelic discourse and the first redaction. In fact, very few specific things can be said with any degree of certainty. The evidence, however, suggests a close connection between the circles in which Jubilees was produced and those from which the Qumran community developed. The citation of the angelic discourse in the Damascus Document,[1] the use of the Jubilees calendar at Qumran,[2] the similarity of attitude toward the faithful nation as the instrument of God in the great eschatological battle,[3] and the likelihood that R_2 resided at Qumran[4] point to a close kinship between the milieus.

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[1] The decree establishing the Hasmoneans as a priestly line (I Macc. xiv, 30-39) was pronounced in 140 B.C. John assumed the office in 134 B.C. and died in 104 B.C.

[2] For convenience and clarity, throughout the study the following symbols will be used to designate both the strata and the persons responsible for the strata: A--the author of the angelic discourse or the discourse itself, R_1--the first redactor of the discourse or the redaction itself, R_2--the second redactor or the second redaction itself.

This does not necessitate viewing the Qumran community simply as a transplanted community whose identity was clearly defined prior to its establishment beside the Dead Sea. Such may or may not have been the case. Neither does it necessitate the postulation of a single, specific community as the milieu of A, R_1, and R_2. It means, at least, however, that those who established the Qumran community came from a background that shared certain beliefs about the calendar and the role of Israel. It may even indicate that

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[1] Cf. CD XVI, 3-4.

[2] Cf. Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls, 238-241.

[3] Cf. p. 96. The similarity mentioned is between the view in the Qumran documents and in R_1.

[4] Cf. pp. 28-29.

Jubilees grew into its present form in the same circles from which the Qumran community came.

The implications of this brief historical sketch for the perennial debates over the date and authorship of Jubilees should be obvious. It has been dated as early as the fifth century B.C.[1] and as late as the sixth decade of the present era.[2] It has been said to be the work of every conceivable type of writer, from a Pharisaic priest[3] to a Samaritan in Egypt[4] to a Jewish Christian combatting Pauline Christianity.[5] All assume a single authorship and a single date. Even where it is admitted on occasion that modifications have arisen in the text, the possibility that this radically affects the basic thrust of the book--makes it a new book in effect--is never raised. In fact, we must speak of three dates and of at least three "authors."

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[1] Solomon Zeitlin, "The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and its Significance," JQR, XXX (1939-40), pp. 8-16.

[2] Singer's dating cited in Littmann's brief introduction to his translation of Jubilees in E. Kautzsch, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments, (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1900), p. 35.

[3] Charles, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 1, 8; Testuz, op. cit., p. 33; Martin, op. cit., p. 321.

[4] Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 3.

[5] Singer, op. cit.

CHAPTER III

JUBILEES PASSAGES INTENDED TO TEACH ESCHATOLOGY

There are three passages in Jubilees whose function is explicitly to teach matters of eschatology--i, 4b-26, 27-28, and xxiii, 14-31. The first and the third are the work of A. The second is the work of R_2. They have been woven into the surrounding material so as to establish continuity with that material. Consequently, the contributions of R_1 appear to be developments of units whose purpose originally was not eschatological. The additions themselves, however, are intended precisely to teach eschatology. Their eschatology manifests both prophetic and apocalyptic aspects. It is prophetic in that it anticipates a continuation of history, is oriented toward the future of the nation rather than the future of the individual, and is concerned with national enemies rather than with cosmic powers. It is apocalyptic in its emphasis on the necessity for each individual Israelite to be faithful to Torah in order to be a part of redeemed Israel and in its interpretation of prophetic texts as prognostications of R_1's own day. The former emphasis indicates the legalistic nature of R_1's eschatology and it does not contradict the previous evaluation of the eschatology as nationally oriented. It does indicate, however the intricacy with which prophetic and apocalyptic aspects may be interrelated. The redactor believed that certain canonical and non-canonical traditions were being fulfilled in his day. The Seleucids were viewed as God's judgment on Israel for violation of Torah, but the rise of the Chasidim and the Maccabean warriors were seen as a sign of God's faithfulness. God will strengthen Israel, renew her, and make her a Torah-abiding people, and she will drive out the enemy.

i, 27-28 is the work of R_2. It continues the introduction to the discourse by drawing the Temple into the new era and by speaking of a new creation.

A. i, 4b-26

Jub. i, 4b-26 is a major element in the second edition of the book. It provides a new framework for the angelic discourse, assuring the readers that certain eschatological promises of the canon are about to be fulfilled, but also pointing out that Israel's predicament is the result of her violation of Torah. When Israel confesses her guilt, she will be restored to the land, reconciled to God, and transformed into a Torah abiding people.

1. Introduction (vs. 4b)

We have seen in the history of the strata that i, 4b-26 was added by someone who wished to change the meaning of the angelic discourse.[1] He wished to turn it into an account of the past and the future of the division of all the days of Torah and of the testimony, the days of Torah being those days when Torah is in effect.[2] For him, this

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[1] Cf. pp. 24-26.

[2] W. D. Davies has shown that in the literature of the intertestamental period, the general expectation was that Torah in its existing form would continue in the new age. Cf. W.D. Davies, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come (Philadelphia: The Society of Biblical Literature, 1952), *passim*. Cf. esp. pp. 53-57. Even those changes and adaptations that might appear are not--in most of the sources---nullifications of Torah as such. Possible modifications fall into two categories--the cessation of certain enactments concerning festivals and the removal of sacrifices for sin, sin no longer being present; 2) changes in the laws concerning clean and unclean, since distinctions will have been abrogated. *Ibid*., pp. 54-57. What the author of God's conversation with Moses understood the days of Torah to be may be seen at vs. 26. The *and* between of the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees forever should not be read as a conjunction introducing something in addition to what precedes, but as a poetic conjunction linking liturgical or poetic parallel passages. So long as the jubilees continue, so long as time endures, Torah will remain in effect.

The Jeremiah passage on which much Torah speculation was based (Jer. xxxi, 31-34) is an ambiguous passage in this respect. As Davies points out, it did not receive unanimous interpretation among the Jewish thinkers. Cf. Davies, *op. cit*., p. 53. It is possible to interpret Jeremiah's words to mean that there will be no need for a writis forever. He does not give a description beyond the time when Israel's heart is circumcised, but it will be an indeterminate time of faithfulness (i, 23-24).

2. God's command to write - I (vss. 5-6)

Moses is commanded to write. The purpose includes both an assurance for and an indictment of the readers: 1) God has not forsaken his people 2) despite their unfaithfulness. Thus, the purpose clause, which is presented as a future reference for Moses, is for the readers a word of contemporary significance--God is more faithful than they.[1]

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ten Torah, for Torah will be written on the hearts of the people. Such a view may lie behind Paul's attitude toward Torah, a view in which Torah is a pedagogue to keep Israel from mischief until the new age (Gal. iii, 25). If so, Paul must have seen the fruits of the Spirit as producing a style of life in which written Torah is no longer necessary, but not totally repudiated. Maturity in Christ brings agape, by which the essence of Torah is upheld (Rom. xiii, 8).

[1] The Ethiopic verb tsa-da-ka and its noun and adjective forms are cognates of the Hebrew verb tsa-dak and its various forms. This leads us to translate the Ethiopic terms with some form of to be faithful. August Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Äethiopicae* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1959), pp. 1311ff. Cited hereafter as Dillmann, *Lexicon*.

In Jub. vii, 20; xxxv, 2 and xli, 19 Charles translated tsadak, tsadaka, and tsadakat as some form of righteous. In each instance, however, faithful or faithfulness is basic to what is being said. Noah expects conduct from his sons that will indicate their faithfulness to God and to the Law (vii, 20). Jacob's vow to honor his father and his brothers is a vow to be faithful to them as a means of being faithful to Torah and to the covenant

All these things that will have come upon Israel (vs. 6) is an expression which anticipates future hardships

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(xxxv, 2). Judah's judgment that Tamar has been more righteous than he is recognition that she has been more faithful to what is expected of an Israelite woman than he has been to what it means to be an Israelite father-in-law. Thus, he has not been so faithful to Torah as has she (xli, 19).

Such trust in the faithfulness of God was found elsewhere in sectarian Judaism. In the long poetic passage which closes the Manual of Discipline from Qumran and in the War Scroll we find the following:

> As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God
> shall be my eternal salvation.
> If I stagger because of the sin of my flesh, my justification
> shall be by God's faithfulness which
> endures forever. ($_1$QM, XI, 12)
>
> Blessed be the God of Israel,
> Who keeps mercy towards his covenant,
> And the appointed times of salvation
> with the people he has delivered.
> ($_1$QM, XIV, 4-5)

On the Hebrew root *tsdk*, cf. Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, Vol. I: *The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*. trans. C.M.G. Stalker from the revised 2nd German Edition (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), pp. 370-383. Hereafter cited as Von Rad, *OT Theology*, I; K. HJ. Fahlgren, *Sedaka: nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im Alten Testament* (Uppsala: Almquist und Wiksells Boktryckeri -A.-B., 1932); R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957); Gottfried Quell and Gottlob Schrenk; "dikee, dikaios, dikaiosunee...", *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Rudolf Kittel, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, Vol. II (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), pp. 174-224. Cited hereafter as *TDNT*. Ernst Käsemann, "God's Righteousness in Paul," *The Bultmann School of Biblical Interpretation: New Directions?* ed. James M. Robinson, et. al., Volume one of *Journal for Theology and the Church*, ed. Robert W. Funk in association with Gerhard Ebeling (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1965), pp. 100-110; J. Philip Hyatt, "The Translation and Meaning of Amos 5:23-24," *ZAW*, N. F. XXVII (1956), pp. 17-24.

and future deliverance. Both all the evil they have done in straying and forsaking the covenant and the release from God's judgment are involved. Since the events of the angelic discourse proper already have taken place when the angel speaks to Moses, the things which will come upon them can only refer to the events in vss. 7-18.

3. God's command to write - II (vss. 7-18)

The form underlying the command in i, 5-6 appears here also. Moses is to write the words God will tell him (vs. 7a). The purpose comprises vss. 7b-11. In light of their rebellion the account will bear witness against them (vs. 8b). The presence of this form partially is the result of its presence in Deut. xxxi, 16-29, upon which R_1 has drawn. Its persistence in the traditions of Judaism, however, is also a factor. The purpose in the present passage is set forth as an oracle of prognostication, a form in itself.[1]

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[1] This type of prognostication is quite different from both the warnings and the promises uttered by the prophets. The prophetic warnings were viewed as threats of judgment resulting from deeds either presently or formerly commited. The promises were of things forthcoming either if the hearer repented or despite the rebellion, in face of the inability of the hearer to repent. The prognostication is a description of events already fixed. Although events within the scheme may appear as the result of other events, the entire scheme is determined even before it occurs.

Prognostication of the future is a characteristic of apocalyptic literature, which takes its name from this very fact. The dialectic of such literature may be seen in the

a. The command (vs. 7a)

Moses is to write what God tells him. This command and the one preceding it are consistent as to the speaker and the person addressed. God speaks to Moses. This sets both off from the discourse, where the angel is the speaker, and from i, 27-28, where the angel is the one addressed.

b. The purpose (vss. 7b-18)

The purpose of the command is the provision of a writ-

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way that it both assumes a fixed future and calls for decision by the reader and by the nation.

In apocalyptic writing, however, there not only is a revelation of what will take place in the reader's future, but also a description of the past as something that was foreknown by God and re[illegible]is human agent. The purpose for such a te[illegible] was more than a technique for the writer[illegible]he reader in the knowledge that God had n[illegible]f guard. He knew all along what would ha[illegible]en biding his time. Courage for facing [illegible] present is to be gained and supporte[illegible]hat God knows and that he has power ov[illegible] future.

In I Sam. viii, [illegible] a description of Samuel warning Israel of what [illegible] if they have a king. This is not an apocalyptic description, strictly speaking, but is a conditional warning which the reader knows, from bitter experience, has been fulfilled.

In II Kg. viii, 12ff, there is an incident much closer to the apocalyptic style. The words of Elisha are not a warning, but a statement of what is going to happen.

Both the I Samuel and the II Kings passage are the type of tradition which underlie the later apocalyptic literature. The portrayal of the pas as something which had been suspected or warned eventually produced the concept of the future as something that is known.

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ing which may be heard later as a witness against Israel. This purpose is set forth in a long passage in which are found numerous fragments of biblical material.[1]

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[1] R_1 has constructed a sketch of Israel's rebellion and the exile on the basis of several biblical sources. He has relied upon Deut. iv, 25-27; xxxi, 16-29; xxxii, 17; and II Kg. xvii, 7-20. All these passages are deuteronomic interpretations of the fall of the nation. R_1 has used them in the same way, but at one point he relates it to his own generation's sins.

In Deut. xxxi, 19, 21 Moses is commanded to write *this song* so that *when many evils and troubles have come upon* Israel the song will witness against them. In xxxi, 26-27 Moses commands the Levites to put the law book that he has written in the ark so that it may be a witness against Israel. The song mentioned in the former passage is the song of Deut. xxxii, 1-43, a hymn of praise concerning God. R_1 had drawn extensively upon the description in xxxi, 16-29--the passage related to the reason for the song--but he has placed it under the reason for the law in xxxi, 27. He has put the words, however, in the mouth of God, rather than in the mouth of Moses. That which now will bear witness against Israel is not Torah or a song, but the history of the exile and the return.

The description of Israel as rebellious and stubborn is based on Deut. xxxi, 27. There, it is Moses who *knows* these things. In Jubilees it is God who knows. R_1's concern is the indictment of Israel. Putting the words in the mouth of God is merely a necessary modification in order to fit the chafge into the setting he has established. The reference to the promise to the fathers and the description of the land as one flowing with milk and honey (Jub. i, 7) is based on Deut. xxxi, 20, as is the warning that when they have eaten and are satisfied, they will serve other gods.

The reference to following the Gentiles and their gods (Jub. i, 9) reflects II Kg. 17, 15; that they will perish and the reference to high places is based on II Kg. 17, 9. The charge of child-sacrifice to demons is derived from the connection of the reference to sacrifices to demons in Deut. xxxii, 17 with the reference to child sacrifice in II Kg. xvii, 17.

There is no reference to the death of the prophets (Jub. i, 12) in these passages, but there is such a reference in Neh. ix, 26, a passage giving reasons for the exile. The Chronicler's history had not been canonized when R_1

In time to come, Israel will rebel. After they have set down to eat--after they have been satisfied--they will turn to strange gods (vs. 8). They will follow Gentile ways (vs. 9), make high places and graven images (vs. 11), sacrifice their children (vs. 11), murder the prophets (vs. 12), relax Torah and persecute those who take Torah seriously (vs. 12).

Charles believed vss. 10-13 to be a portrayal of the fall of both kingdoms--Israel (vs. 10) and Judah (vss. 11-13).[1] R_1 omitted those verses from his biblical sources

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worked, but he would probably had been familiar with it and with the traditions on which it is based.

In speaking of straying from ḥodeshim, sabbaths, festivals, and jubilees (Jub. i, 14), R_1 reflects concerns shown by A. R_1 has in this way brought the ancient texts to bear upon his own generation. The sins of the fathers and the sins of the children are one. The present generation has perpetuated the sins that led to exile.

That the scenes in Deuteronomy were quite influential in Jewish thought is indicated by the later rabbinic tradition that Moses was told future events of Israel's history (b. Megilla 19b; Shem. R. 40; b. Menachoth 29b; Wajikra R. 26). Cf. Charles Pseudepigrapha, p. 11. It may also be seen in the Sayings of Moses found at Qumran; "...For I foretell that they will abandon me and will choose (the idols of the) nations and their abominations and horrors and that they will serve idols which will be (for them) a pit (fall and) a snare. And they will vio (late all the ho)ly (assemblies) and the Sabbath of the covenant (and the feasts,)..." (The Sayings of Moses I, 6c-8). Cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, The Essene Writings From Qumran, trans. Geza Vermes (2nd German ed.; New York: The World Publishing Company, 1962), p. 307. Cited hereafter as Dupont-Sommer, Writings. Also cf. Vermes, op. cit., p. 225.

[1] Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 4.

that would make such a distinction clear, however,[1] and was concerned with the fall of Israel as a single historical occurrence. So far as he was concerned, the rebellion was a thing of the past. At vs. 10b, he has interpreted the source upon which he has drawn by adding a further note on the reason for the fall of the nation--they forsook Torah, the festivals of the covenant, and the sabbaths.[2] R_2 has further interpreted the passage by adding a reference to neglect of the sanctuary.[3]

Although the comment concerning the prophets (vs. 12a) contains both the view that God sent them and the accusation that the people killed them, the emphasis is on the accusation. This is clear from the context in which the remark is located, a series of complaints against Israel, culminating in the charge that they also have hated Torah and persecuted those who adhered to Torah.[1]

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[1] The portrayal of the fall of both kingdoms is found in II Kg. xvii, 7-20. There, the sins of Israel are clearly pointed out as such, and Judah is said to have fallen for committing the same wrongs. Jub. i, 7-13 does not make any such distinction.

[2] Deut. iv, 26-27, upon which Jub. i, 10a is based, does not give a statement of reason following the statement of judgment. The festivals of the covenant and the sabbaths are especially of concern in the angelic discourse, and R_1 took them quite seriously. Part of the reason for the predicament of Israel is her neglect of these.

[3] There is no reference to the sanctuary in any of the biblical sources. This doesn't mean that R_1 could not have placed the comment here, but R_2 is a logical choice.

In vss. 13-14, the exile is exemplified as a time when God hid his face from Israel. Such an act was not an act of unfaithfulness, however, but the judgment of a faithful God.[2] Because she ignored Torah, Israel was put in a situation in which she forgot Torah (vs. 14), a concept of judgment found also in such places as Amo. i-ii, Is. vi, and Rom. i.

In vss. 15-18, we move from the biblically based references to the exile and its causes to biblically based references concerning the return from exile. God will gather his people from exile (vs. 15), establish them in the land (vs. 16), and never forsake them (vss. 17b-18).[1]

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[1] Although the shift from the prophets to Torah might at first seem as though an editorial hand has been at work, the presence of the subjects in II Kg. xvii, 13-15 suggests that R_1 has merely followed his model, using his own words to heighten the emphasis on the fate of Torah and on the exile as the result of ignoring Torah. Charles' translation reads, "They will abrogate and change everything." The Ethiopic (*ya-ah-ru wa-ye-wal-nu*), however, is better translated, "They will ignore and let go of (everything)." Cf. Dillmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 923, 1328-1329.

[2] The reference to God hiding his face is rooted in Deut. xxxi, 18, but the rest of the description is based on Deut. iv, 25-28. The latter reference is spoken by Moses, but has been attributed here to God himself. It is a description preceded by a conditional *if* clause, and it sounds as though the events already have taken place. The conditional element indicates the subsequent events to have met the conditions, not to have fulfilled a predetermined scheme. In Deut. xxxi, 18, God himself speaks and describes that which is destined to happen. This is more in keeping with the Jubilees description. In fact, the content of Deut. iv, 25-28 has been appropriated to the setting of xxxi, 18. The absence of conditional clauses in Jubilees heightens the apocalyptic aspect of the passage.

4. Moses' plea for Israel (vss. 19-25)

These verses are a prayer that God not forsake Israel.

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[1] After this introduces a new topic in the passage. The subject now is not judgment, but hope. The basic source for the description is Deut. iv, 29, but the promise found there has been expanded with material from other sources. They will be the head, not the tail, for instance, reflects a promise in Deut. xxviii, 13. The passage in which this promise is found concerns the blessings to come upon the faithful (xxviii, 1-14). The following passage describes the curses that will come upon the unfaithful (xxviii, 15-68). This accounts for the promise in Jub. i, 16 that Israel will be the object of blessing, not of curse. The establishment of Israel as an upright plant may be a reference to the warning in Deut. xxviii, 63 that Israel will be plucked off the land. Charles located it in Jer. xxxii, 41. Cf. Charles, Jubilees, p. 5. Another possibility is that it is a paraphrase of Is. lxi, 3,

> that they may be called oaks of faithfulness,
> the planting of the Lord, that he
> may be glorified.

They will turn to me...with all their heart and all their soul (vs. 15) is based on Jer. xxix, 13-14.

In Deut. xxxi, 21, the song of Moses will bear witness against Israel when they are in trouble. This originally was related to the fall of the kingdoms and the exile. Jub. i, 5-6, however, makes the testimony relevant in the time of renewal. It will bear witness both to Israel's unfaithfulness and to God's faithfulness. The testimony reference in i, 8, then, now refers to all of vss. 7b-18--exile and return.

It is questionable that we should view every reference to the sanctuary as the work of R_2. The absence of references to the sanctuary in any of the biblical sources upon which vss. 17b-18 are based, however, leads to the possibility that he has placed the verses here.

Horrified by the forecast of the exile, Moses cries out for God to have mercy, reminding him that Israel is his heritage.[1] The content of the plea is based on Ex. xxxii, 11-14 and Deut. ix, 25-29, where the destruction of Israel is threatened because of her apostasy in the wilderness. R_1, however, has used only one of the grounds for the plea found at Ex. xxxii, 12 and Deut. ix, 28-29. In both places he argues on the basis of God's reputation. In Deuteronomy, Moses reminds God that Israel is his heritage. The important element of the prayer is the response of God, which follows. Inevitably, however, the response indicates --if only by implication--God's evaluation of the grounds.[2]

The response in Jub. i, 22-25 rejects the grounds of Moses' plea.[3] That Israel is God's heritage does not

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[1] On the form of this prayer cf. p. 25n. Here as in vss. 7-18, the form partially results from the use of the biblical sources, but R_1 has used it for his own purposes.

[2] A positive response means that God finds the grounds legitimate; a negative response, that he rejects them.

[3] The response is built on fragments of scripture. God's knowledge of Israel's contrariness (vs. 22) is a reflection of the Deuteronomic passage (Deut. xxxi, 16-29) used in Jub. i, 7ff. Whereas Jub. i, 7 reflects the foreknowledge of God, found in Deut. xxxi, 29, Jub. i, 22 reflects Moses' knowledge of Israel's evil found in Deut. xxxi, 27. In Jubilees the words are attributed to God.

The entire speech of Moses in Deut. xxix-xxx has had an influence on the passage. The redactor's confidence in God is rooted in such passages. (Cf. especially Deut. xxx, 6).

The necessity of confessing the sins of both the present and the past generations (Jub. i, 22) is based on remove her from the circle of judgment. God's promises will be fulfilled only when Israel is truly repentent (vs. 22).[1] The response begins with the words I know, as does the purpose of the command in i, 7b. In vs. 22, however, these words introduce an indictment of Israel, not an oracle of the future. God knows their contrariness...and their stubborness. This indictment includes a call to confession, a call hardly intended for any generation other than the author's own:[2] but his generation cannot completely be separated from previous generations. His contemporaries can neither simply blame their plight on previous generations nor ignore the sins of those generations. They must confess both their own sins and those of

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Lev. xxvi, 40. There the necessity of such confession is in the context of a warning that if Israel neglects the covenant, God will scatter her among the nations (Lev. xxvi, 14-25). Her return will be forthcoming because of God's faithfulness and mercy, but it will demand confession. Thus, we see that this Leviticus passage has been equally as influential as the Deuteronomic traditions on R_1. He heard it as having been written about his own day.[1]

[1] A paradox of God's faithfulness and Israel's need for confessing is unhesitatingly set forth. Neither reality eliminates the other. In a sense, neither even qualifies the other. They are held in a tension which to attempt rationally to explicate is to misunderstand. The paradox is ultimately that which occurs in all attempts to relate the acts of God to the acts of man and vice versa.

[2] The description of the violations of Torah in i, 10 indicate his desire to relate the passage to his own day.

the fathers (vs. 22).[1]

When we relate this passage to the angelic discourse, we must distinguish between Israel as a community and the Israelite individual. Israel is destined for blessing, but not every Israelite will survive the judgment. Some will not acknowledge their sin and will be destroyed (xxi, 22).

In the new era Israel will cling to God and will yearn to keep all his commandments, because God himself will have created both the desire (i, 23) and the ability to keep Torah. The circumcised foreskin of the heart means transformed motives. Indeed, their motives will be so thoroughly transformed that they will never rebel again (vss. 23-24). Nothing is said about Torah being written on the heart, so we must not assume that Israel's impulses will automatically be manifestations of the will of God, as Jer. xxxi, 31-34 indicates. There will be no question, however, of the desire and ability to follow Torah as it is written on stone and in books for all to read.

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[1] We have already seen that the biblical origin of this type of confession is in Lev. xxvi, 40. The author is bringing this Pentateuchal call to confession to bear on his own generation because he knows that the scattering described as a warning in Lev. xxvi, 14-45 has taken place. This passage also influenced the Qumran liturgy. In the ceremony for entrance into the community we read: "And all who pass into the covenant shall make their confession after them, saying, 'We have been sinful, we have rebelled, we have sinned, we have been wicked, we and our fathers before us, by going against the precepts of truth" ($_1$QSI, 24-26a).

R_1 knew that the transformation of Israel's heart had not yet taken place. In his own day there was apostasy. What we usually think of as the return from exile had not, in fact, led to a new allegiance to God, but to repetition of the old unfaithfulness and rebellion. Israel had not yet sought God with all her heart. He had not yet truly been found by them. R_1 had great hope, however, for he saw his own day as the time when the authentic return from exile was beginning to occur, the time of the return to God.[1]

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[1] In this view of the nature of his own day--and possibly of his own sect--R_1 reflects a view common to sectarian groups of the era. Despite the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah and the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, there were those who did not see the events of the Persian period as a true return from the exile. We know for a fact that only a small number of exiles returned to Jerusalem when Cyrus set them free. Cf. Noth, History, p. 308; John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 344. Hereafter cited as Bright, History. In the Damascus Document the author of that work reflected the view that only with the rise of his sect did the exile come to an end:

> For because of the unfaithfulness of those who abandones Him He hid his face from Israel and its Sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword....And...three hundred and ninety years after He had delivered them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar...He visited them, and caused a root of planting to spring from Israel and Aaron to possess His land and to grow fat on the good things of His earth (CD MS. A; I, 3-8). Cf. Dupont Sommer, Writings, p. 121.

Charles noted that in I. En. xci, 12-17; xciii, 1-10

5. The command to write repeated (vs. 26)

Therefore, introducing the statement of purpose for the third command to write, points backward to what has gone before. The full statement of the purpose is in vss. 7b-18 and in the response of God in vss. 22-26. This and the essential repetition of the content of vs. 4b[1] point to vs. 2b as a concluding command, giving symmetry to the unit.

One prepositional phrase has been injected into the unit. Until I descend and dwell with them forever is contradictory to the preceding content of the verse. In the latter, Moses is to write a history of the weeks and the jubilees forever. In the former, that history is to cover the period until the descent of God. This phrase was added by the same person who added vss. 27-28.[2] Its

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there is the belief that the apostasy of Israel continued through the post-exilic period to his own day. Cf. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 264. The author of the Gospel According to Matthew indicated by his fourteen generation scheme from Abraham to David, from David to the exile, and from the exile to Jesus (Mt. i, 17) that he believed the exile had come to an end only with the coming of Jesus.

[1] In both, Moses is to write the history of the past and of the future.

[2] The repetition of forever further supports that the phrase is an addition. That it was added by R_2 is suggested by the reference in vs. 28 to Zion as the place where God will dwell.

function is to emphasize the future age of peace as a time when God himself will rule over Israel from Zion. Its function, then, is explicitly an eschatological one in that its purpose is to clarify the nature of the eschatological future.

6. Recapitulation

The essential elements of the eschatology of vss. 4b-26 are Israel's restoration to the land, her reconciliation with God, and the transformation of her motives. She will have no desire to disobey Torah. The redactor of the angelic discourse--the author of i, 4b-26--has not painted an extensive portrait of the future, but has drawn upon the promises and the demands of the canon and held them aloft for his own day. "These verses," he has said, "were written for us. The exile is at last ending. Let us confess our guilt as a people and thus welcome this new day."[1]

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[1] R_1's use of the Bible is shown here to be quite different from that of A. The latter looked to the Pentateuch for history in which to root Torah and certain structures of Israelite life; the latter, to the Torah and the Prophets for the key to understanding the day wherein he lived.

The line between apocalyptic and prophetic interpretations of the Bible is a thin one indeed. Certainly, there are passages in the prophetic books which are not merely conditional statements and do not see the promised future event "growing out of" present events, but which are unqualified statements about what God intends to do. Is. ii, 2-4 and Jer. xxxi, 31-34 are merely two examples. Such absolute promises of God's intervention were fertile

B. i, 27-28, 29c

Jub. i, 27-28 is the introduction which R_2 has supplied for the angelic discourse. It not only changes the description of who is to write the narrative in the discourse, but also changes the description of what is to be written. The discourse now is said to be an account of things from the beginning of the creation until the establishment of the sanctuary. The function of the verses is to assure the readers that the time of God's visitation is near. Consequently, it is an eschatological passage.[1]

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ground for apocalyptic views of history. The difference between prophetic and apocalyptic at this point is one of detail more than anything else. Apocalyptic's promises are more minutely detailed; and though they use bizarre figures in a sort of code, they intend a rather precise account of what will happen. Prophecy's promises are usually less ambitious, though they may be quite elaborately stated in their poetic imagery. Their scope and their detail are not nearly so far reaching.

In terms of this discussion, the eschatology of vss. 4b-26 is more prophetic than apocalyptic.

[1] The words *until my sanctuary is established among them* make it necessary to interpret R_2 as having believed that the establishment would follow the last events mentioned in the book as he received it. This would include i, 4b-26 and xxiii, 14-31. (On the relation of the sanctuary-oriented redaction to xxiii, 21--and consequently, to xxiii, 14-31--cf. pp. 74-77.)

R_2 believed that the great struggle with the Gentiles would end with the victory of the faithful and the establishment of the authentic sanctuary.

Vs. 29c is an addition made by R_2 to the transition passage into the angelic discourse.[1] Although vs. 29 as a whole serves as a transition, the additions made by R_2 were definitely intended to indicate certain aspects of the new day, as well as to proclaim its nearness. In both of the latter respects, it is eschatological.

Quite apart from any secondary presuppositions of the passage, the important thing for R_2 was the establishment of the sanctuary on Mt. Zion. From there, God himself will rule as King forever (vs. 28). Thus, the prophecy of Is. xl, 5 will be fulfilled, for all will see him at the time of his revelation.[2] R_2 did not view the building in

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[1] The outlook of R_2 is reflected in the reference to the new creation and in the reference to the sanctuary. That he was interested in the new creation may be seen in iv, 26. (For iv, 26b as an addition by R_2 cf. pp. 147-149.)

[2] The reference in the angelic discourse to the sanctification of Eden, the Mount of the East, Sinai, and Zion in the new creation (iv, 26) and to Mt. Zion as the navel of the earth (viii, 19) indicate the legitimacy of understanding i, 28 in terms of the navel of the earth motif. A close look at viii, 19 leads us to the conclusion that it is an addition to the narrative in which it is found. That narrative (viii, 8-ix, 15) is a description of the division of the land among the sons and grandsons of Noah. Its function is to show that Palestine belongs to Israel and that those who have subjected Israel to their rule are usurpers. Vs.19 introduces a new subject--the three places that God has on earth--which is not completely beside the point of the narrative, but which obviously is an intrusion. R_2 probably made it. His concern with Zion is obvious in i, 27-28. For discussions of the navel of the earth motif, cf. Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion

Jerusalem at the time of his work as authentic. It has been so corrupted that only God can establish the true sancturary. This he will do in the near future.[1]

(New York: The World Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 374-385; --, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 12-17; G. Van der Leuww, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation: A Study in Phenomenology*, Vol. II, trans. J. E. Turner from the 2nd German Edition (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1963), pp. 393-402.

Jerusalem and Zion are the center of the entire universe, the point of intersection between heaven and earth. The navel motif has undergone a transformation here, however, for Zion does not have inherent life-giving power. In Israelite faith, and in Jubilees, rites in the Temple benefit the participants only when they are acts of worship by men of honesty, justice, and faithfulness (Is. i, 12-20; Amo. v, 21-24; Jub. xxiii, 21). Moreover, Jerusalem is important not as the place of the first creation, but as the spot destined to be the dwelling place of God in the future. Only his presence can give it the power of life for the faithful. When he is present, Zion and Jerusalem will be exalted.

[1] The splendor of Zion and of the Temple as an aspect of the new day is rooted in Israelite hope as far back as Isaiah. Cf. Is. ii, 2-5; Ezek. xl-xlviii; Mic. iv; Ps. Sol. xvii, 33-34; I En. xc, 28-36; T. Dan v, 12-13; II Bar. iv, 3.

The members of the Qumran community understood themselves to be the true cult. Gärtner believes they saw themselves as the new Temple, and Black agrees. Bertil Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and in the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 16-17; Black, *Scrolls*, pp. 42-43. The passages on which this view is based are from the Manual of Discipline--v, 6; VIII, 8; IX, 3. Although there are problems of translation in these passages, they do indicate that the community's activity of praise and thanksgiving is seen to be efficacious as a spiritual sacrifice while the Jerusalem sanctuary is defiled. The Qumranites viewed themselves as the true sanctuary in exile. This should not be understood in terms merely of the community as a physical entity, but in terms of the activity of the community. They

With regard to its temporality or atemporality, R_2 has said nothing about the nature of life beyond the establishment of the sanctuary. This did not lie within the realm of his interest. His language, however, implies that he thought of it as temporal. Vs. 29 speaks of all the years of the earth.[1] R_2 did not anticipate an end to history, then, but a purification of the conditions of history. The object of the blessings of the new creation is Israel (vs. 29).[2]

The new introduction supplied by these verses has not radically altered the purpose of the discourse in the way that R_1's material altered the angelic discourse. The major effect is to draw the Temple into the eschatological

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anticipated that eventually God would restore them to Zion.

R_1 also rejected the legitimacy of the cult in Jerusalem.[1] He did not anticipate the purification of the sanctuary, but its establishment. Yet there already was a sanctuary, so far as buildings are concerned. In xxiii, 21 those who defile the Holy of Holies are verbally attacked. This raises the possibility that R_2 also understood the circle of which he was a part as the Temple. Unfortunately, he does not explicitly say that this is his anticipation. On the other hand, if the readers had such a self-understanding, vss. 27-28 would be sufficient in making his point.

The influence of such concepts on the early church may be seen in the reference in Heb. xiii, 10 to Jesus as the Christians' altar.

[1] R_2 did not intend this expression as a point of teaching. As an expression, it betrays a perspective.

[2] R_2 did not explicitly teach Israelite exclusivism. He did not repudiate, however, that of the discourse.

outlook, add the concept of a new creation, and implicitly reject the successors to the Maccabean warriors as God's instruments in establishing the new day in Israel.[1] Just as there are holy times (A), so is there a holy place (R_2).

C. xxiii, 14-31

1. The structure of the passage and its relation to the unit

The major eschatological passage in Jubilees is found in xxii, xxiii, a unit with a long history.[2] The basic

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[1] The Maccabean warriors are regarded as God's instruments in xxiii, 14-31. Cf. pp. 71-73.

[2] The date in xxii, 1 marks the beginning of a new unit. The narrative in xxii, 1-xxiii, 1 is a blessing narrative. The narrative elements function primarily as the setting for the blessings of Abraham (xxii, 7-9, 10, 11-24, 27, 28-30). That A received a version of this narrative and modified it into the one we now have may be seen in the double dating of the events. The entire incident is dated both as the first week of the second year of the forty-fourth jubilee and as the year Abraham died, and the Feast of Oaths is identified as the Feast of First Fruits (vs. 1). Originally, it probably spoke of the sons coming, in the year that Abraham died, to celebrate the Festival of First Fruits.

The blessing that begins at vs. 11 has been expanded with commandments, perhaps by A, since they reflect the anti-Gentile bias reflected throughout the discourse--a call for separation in general (vss. 16-19) and a caution against intermarriage (vss. 20-23).

In Gen. xxv, 17; xxxv, 28-29; and xlix, 33 the expression was gathered to his fathers and a note about the number of years a man lived mark the end of an account about the man. In I Kg. ii, 10 and xi, 42-43 the expression slept with his fathers and the number of years he reigned mark the end of an account about a king. This function of the unit is to warn against contact with the Gentiles and their ways, lest you be destroyed.[1]

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points to the separation of the references to Abraham being gathered to his fathers (xxiii, 1) and to his age (xxiii, 8) being due to xxiii, 2-7 having been interpolated between them. Vs. 2 begins with a phrase that obviously intends to change the subject (*and not withstanding all this*). It introduces a description of the mourning for Abraham.

There are no polemics or justifications in vss. 2-7. A probably found it already attached to the blessing narrative.

To the Abraham narrative--which originally ended at vs. 8--A has added a word about the result of human wickedness (vss. 9-13). The use of the jubilee time references in these verses points to A as the contributor. This is an appropriate place to add such a comment, for it provides a comment on the result of violating the commands in xxii, 16-22.

Later still, the eschatological passage in vss. 14-31 was added to relate the judgment passage, as well as the commands in xxii, 16-22, to the day of the one who added them.

Vs. 32 originally followed vs. 13. It is a standard expression which A frequently used to support his words (cf., for example, iv, 32; v, 13; vi, 30).

[1] That the ancient covenant formula still was influential in the time that Jubilees was composed may be seen in this narrative by the presence of three elements of that formula--the historical prologue (God's creation of the heavens and the earth and his protection of Abraham, xxii, 6-8), the stipulations (the commands, xxii, 16-21), and the blessings and curses (judgment on idol worshippers, xxii, 22; and blessings on the sons of Jacob, xxii, 23). On the covenant formula in the ancient world, cf. George E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *BA*, XVII (Sept., 1954), pp. 50-76. For an excellent analysis of the continuing influence of the covenant formula on other intertestamental literature and early Christian literature, cf. Klaus Baltzer, *Das Bundesformular* (2., durchgesehene Auflage; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964). An examination of the narratives of the celebration of *Shevuoth* in Jubilees vi, 1-38; xv, 1-34; and xliv, 1-xlv, 16 confirms this influence. In each,

Within the eschatological passage there is evidence that R_1 has drawn upon canonical and non-canonical traditions for his work.[1] The most lengthy separate borrowings are seen in the eschatological poem in vss. 24-31.[2]

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we find promises from God which come at the point where the historical prologue should be (vi, 4; xv, 6-10; xliv, 5-7a), but since the incidents in these narratives are prior to the exodus, the prologue looks forward, not backward. In the Abraham story (xxi, 6-8), the prologue refers to Abraham's own history. The other narratives also contain commands from God (vi, 7-9, 17, 20-21; xv, 11-14; xliv, 6b), and the equivalent of blessings and curses is found in at least two (vi, 12-13; xv, 25-29). If the good land in xliv, 10 is understood as a gift to Jacob for his obedience, then in that narrative also we have the equivalent of a blessing, though not of a curse.

Two other elements regularly appear in these narratives--the offering of a sacrifice (vi, 2; xv, 2; xliv, 4) and some prediction of the future (vi, 18-19, 33-38; xv, 33-34; xlv, 14). In chaps. vi and xv, the latter element is a prediction of Israel's apostasy. In xxiii, 12-13, the prediction concerns the continuing wickedness of men and its results. It is not eschatological, but points to the ills of any age as the judgment of God for the wickedness of that age.

These narratives may reflect the order for celebration of covenant renewal in those circles in which A moved. The ceremony would begin with the sacrificial offering and then proceed through the reading of covenant blessings, Torah, promises and threats, and prognostication of the wickedness of men. The prognostication might easily arise in a period perceived as extremely wicked, as nearing the time of judgment. The ceremony of covenant renewal would thus be a means of participation in the new era. At any rate, the covenant formula has influenced A as he has united the traditions with which he worked.

[1] He has expanded the prognostication in the unit.

[2] The introductory formula in those days (vss. 24, 26) marks vss. 24-29 as a poem about the last days of the present state of history. This is different from its use in vss. 12-13. In every place where this formula is found

Although the evidence points to vss. 24-29 and vss. 30-31 at one time having been separate descriptions,[1] there is no way to be certain at what time they were joined. It is quite possible that R_1 united them.[2]

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as a reference to future events in the Old and New Testaments, it concerns the eschatological future. Cf. Jer. iii, 16, 18; v, 18; xxxi, 29; xxxiii, 15, 16; l, 4, 20; Joel ii, 29; iii, 1; Zech. viii, 23; Mk. xiii, 19, 24; Rev. ix, 6. There are variations of the wording in other passages which also are eschatological--*in the latter days* (Is. ii, 2; Jer. xxiii, 20; xxx, 24; Ezek. xxxviii, 16), *in days to come* (Is. xxvii, 6), and *the days are coming when* (Is. xxxix, 6; Jer. vii, 32; ix, 25; xix, 6; xxiii,5).

In every instance where *in those days* is used in the biblical texts, even when it comes at the end of a reference rather than at the beginning, there is only one subject. If a new subject is introduced, a new time reference accompanies it, unless an entirely new unit begins. This indicates that in the verses here we also should expect each block so introduced to have one central point.

[1] Vs. 30 has a different introductory formula (*and at that time*), and vs. 30a expands the scope of vs. 29 by describing a routing of the enemy. This is the means by which peace is attained. This does not mean that vs. 30 arose as a detailed description of vs. 29. They have been united at some point in their transmission, however, in such a way as to provide that relationship.

That vss. 24-25 and vss. 26-29 were originally constructed as a single unit is indicated by the symmetry of their details. The subject of vss. 24-25 is the plight of the people at the hands of the Gentiles. The subject of vss. 26-29 is the return to Torah and the result of that return. The details of the plight are matched point for point by correction of the plight. The Gentiles (vs. 24) will be removed (vs. 29), the incredibly short life of man (vs. 25) will be lengthened (vs. 27), and ill health (vs. 25) will be replaced by youthful health (vs. 28).

[2] The oppression by the Gentiles (vss. 24-25) and the children's return to Torah (vss. 26-29) are paralleled in the prose (vss. 22-23a and 16-21, respectively). They

Charles believed that the poetry begins with the words, *And they will do violence against Israel.*[1] We have translated the passage so that the poetry begins with the words, *who have neither mercy nor compassion.*[2]

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portray the author's understanding of his own day. Vss. 30-31 are also paralleled in the prose of vss. 16-21, though they include a promise of the outcome of the struggles seen in vss. 16-21 that vss. 16-21 do not themselves contain. On the use of the prose to interpret the poetry in this passage. cf. pp. 69-73.

[1] Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 48.

[2] The parallelism of the first two lines, as we have set up the poetry, is obvious. The Hebrew text easily could have contained four lines of three beats each. R_1 has used the material in vs. 23 as a transition passage, relating the prose to the poetry. Vs. 22 pronounces the judgment of God--punishment. Vs. 23 spells out the punishment in terms of the coming of the Gentiles, and the poetry of that verse paints in violent terms the time of punishment.

That R_1 has based this verse on biblical tradition may be seen by a comparison with Jer. vi, 23 and Deut. xxviii, 50.

Cf. Jubilees: ...*neither mercy nor compassion*...and Jer. vi, 23; *...they are cruel and have no mercy...*cf. Jubilees: *...and who respect no person, young or old,* and Deut. xxviii, 50; *...a nation of stern countenance who shall not regard the person of the old or show favor to the young*... Both these biblical passages concern the exile. R_1 has used them to describe the enemy in his own day.

Charles thought the reference to *none to gather* and *none to bury* to be rooted in Jer. viii, 2. Cf. Charles, *Jubilees*, p. 149. In the Jeremiah passage, however, there are no bodies to bury. In I Macc. vii, 17 there is a passage which sounds something like the Jubilees reference:

> The flesh of thy saints and their blood
> they poured out round about Jerusalem,
> and there was none to bury them.

Both the Jubilees and the I Maccabees references may be based on Ps. lxxix, 2-3.

This verse introduced the eschatological poem, whose first stanza, as has been noted, is a description of the plight of the people under Gentile oppression. By introducing the poem in this way, R_1 has made the first stanza of the poem a continuation of the description begun in vs. 23. This indicates that he understood his own day as the eschatological period and that he saw the prophecies of the poetry being fulfilled in his day. The similarity of content in the prose and the poetry--though part of it is in reverse order from one to the other[1]--also points to this relation between the prose and the poetry. The prose is the means by which R_1 has interpreted the eschatological poem for his own day. At the same time he has attached his work to the angelic discourse by interpreting the ills of his own day as a specific occasion of the perennial predicament of man resulting from the flood.[1] The description is thus interpreted in a double manner as the general condition of man because of human sin and the specific condition of a single generation because of its own sin. R_1 is not interested in arguing for or against a doctrine of original sin, so there is no exploration of whether any generation could or could not have risen above the plight. The simple fact is that the condition of all the generations has been as it is described and the present generation carries its own share of the guilt.[2]

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[1] In the prose we find the general sufferings of man interpreted as judgment on R_1's generation (vss. 14-15), the uprising of the sons against the fathers because the fathers have violated the covenant (vss. 16-20), and the coming of the Gentiles (vss. 22-23). In the eschatological poem, we find Gentile oppression (vss. 24-25), the children's return to Torah (vss. 26-29), and the victory of Israel (vss. 30-31). The coming of the Gentiles and the return of the children to Torah in the poem is the opposite order from that of the prose. The prose, however, is the means by which R_1 has interpreted the poetry, and it is to that interpretation that we must look for the specific historical events of his day.

The poetry of vs. 23 serves as a transition into the eschatological poem. As already noted, the poetry of vs. 23 has been drawn from Deut. xxviii, 50; Jer. vi, 23; and possibly from Ps. lxxix, 2-3. R_1 used these verses to interpret the eschatological poem for his own day and did not intend to interpret the lines themselves as having been written explicitly for his own day. They are fragments which may simply have come to his mind as he wrote. No doubt, he was immersed in the canonical and non-canonical traditions, and in such instances it is second nature to express one's self in phrases and sentences that simply rush to mind. Such usage does not mean that the user understands the phrases and sentences to have been written only for his day. He simply finds the phrases or sentences appropriate descriptions of his own situation.

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[1] Vss. 12-13 are a description of the plight of all men since the flood. *And in those days*--which in xxiii, 24, 26 introduces an eschatological description--here refers *to all the generations which arise from this time until the day of the great judgment*, not to the day of judgment. The biblical passages upon which the vss. 12-13 are based are Lev. xxvi, 14-26; Deut. xxviii, 20-22; and Ps. xc, 10. None of these is eschatological in its original context, and R_1 has not made any of them eschatological in the present usage. He has interpreted the manifestation of these ills in his own day as the explicit judgment for the sins of that generation. *All these shall come upon an evil generation which incurrs guilt upon the earth*....

[2] The unit to which the eschatological passage has been attached explicitly connects two elements whose relation in Genesis is debated by the commentaries--man's sin and the

The eschatological passage was not constructed as a detailed description of the future. That is, it was not intended as a systematic presentation of eschatological doctrine. Essentially, R_1 was concerned to say three

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length of human life. Some see the shortened life span as the result of man's sin--i.e., as the judgment of God. Cf. Martin Luther, Lectures on Genesis, Vol. I: Chapters 1-5, trans. George V. Schick, Vol. I of Luther's Works, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), p. 322; S. H. Hooke, "Genesis," Peake's Commentary on the Bible, rev. ed., ed. Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 183; Walter Harrelson, Interpreting the O.T., pp. 56-57. Others see it as a consequence of man's distance from the creation. Cf. Von Rad, Genesis, p. 67; John Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis, Vol. I of the International Critical Commentary (2nd ed., rev.; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), p. 129. The latter is hereafter cited as Skinner, Genesis. The Jubilees unit explicitly makes the reduction of man's life a consequence of sin. R_1, however, has refused to allow all the troubles that have come upon Israel to be blamed on the ancestors.

That the description in vss. 14-15 is not the work of A is supported by the dating method in vs. 14. There has been no attempt to measure man's life by jubilees, a dating method which appears constantly in the discourse.

Charles saw vss. 13-14 as a portrayal of the calamities that came upon Judah in the early decades of the second century B.C. Cf. Charles, Jubilees, p. 146. He gave no indication, however, of how he viewed the relation of vs. 13 to vs. 14. Our analysis supports the general interpretation, but we must note that vs. 13 speaks of man's history after the flood. Charles also thought that vs. 11 means that the messianic kingdom must follow the great judgment, but that vs. 30 indicates that the messianic kingdom precedes the judgment and is a temporary kingdom. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 48. It is true that the day of judgment in vs. 11 is seen as coming at the end of the present order of things. Part of Charles' difficulty was his assumption that the day of judgment is a day and his failure to see the possibility that the day might be interpreted as a lengthy struggle in which the faithful overcome their enemies. More important, however, was his failure to recognize the complex origins of the present text of Jubilees.

things. 1) The oppression by the Gentiles resulted from disobedience to Torah, 2) already there are signs of return to Torah, and 3) the return to Torah will result in peace and freedom.

2. The poem (vss. 24-31)

In those days (vs. 24) marks the beginning of the eschatological poem. As shown in the previous section, the phrase refers to the eschatological period. Two divisions of the poem begin with this phrase --vss. 24-25, 26-29. In the first, the distress of Israel is portrayed; in the second, the return to Torah.

Vs. 24 portrays the scope of the oppression. None will escape the onslaught. Vs. 25 portrays the deterioration of human life. The symbol of that deterioration is the condition of the children--gray hair, appearance as men a hundred years old, wasted stature. The three aspects of the description are parallel contributions to a single picture.[1] Vs. 25, however, should not be understood merely

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[1] Similar symptoms of distress are associated with the end of the age in other Israelite literature, as well as in the literature of other peoples. In II Es. vi, 21-22 we read:

> Infants a year old shall speak with their voices, and women with child shall give birth to premature children at three or four months, and these shall live and dance. Sown places shall suddenly appear

in terms of what happens to the children, but as a sign

> unsown, and full storehouses shall suddenly be
> found to be empty....

The context of this passage indicates that although the children live and dance, the entire picture is one of woe. The premature births are at such an early stage of pregnancy that normally there would be miscarriage.

In Hesiod's *Op. et Dies*, children of the iron age will be born with hoary temples. Also cf. Sib. Or. II, 155.

Such descriptions sometimes are called messianic woes. Discussions of this concept may be found in the articles on "Ages of the World" in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), Vol. I, pp. 183-210. This work is cited hereafter as *ERE*. Also cf. Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. II, pp. 362ff; W.D. Davies, *Christian Origins and Judaism* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 24. There are vivid descriptions of woes of the end in several books from the same general period as Jubilees. Cf. I En. lxxx; Sib. Or. III, 632-650; II Bar. xxv-xxvii; II Es. v; IV Ez. iv, 52-v. 13; Mk. xiii. Whether such woes are found in the Qumran material is debatable. Cf. Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1965), pp. 47-48. Cited hereafter as Vermes, *Scrolls*. Theodore Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (2nd ed., rev. and enlarged; New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964), p. 405. Cited hereafter as Gaster, *Scriptures*. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. G. Vermes from the 2nd German ed. (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1962), p. 208. Cited hereafter as Dupont-Sommer, *Writings*. Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. 344. Cited hereafter as Burrows, *More Light*.

It is unfortunate that the adjective *messianic* has been used in discussing eschatology even when there is no anointed figure whose office and function are unique in the eschatological period. Nevertheless, in the eschatological poem of Jub. xxiii, the distress occupies the place occupied by the messianic woes in other literature. It should be pointed out, however, that in the poem 1) there is no Messiah, and 2) the deterioration of life is not merely the natural result of the old age wearing out, but the consequence of the distress resulting from rejection of Torah. That this is the cause is not spelled out, but is implied in the reversal of the conditions when the children of what happens to all human life. It sounds very much like a description of massive starvation in which the lack of food results in baldness, wrinkled skin, and deterioration of the muscles. Literally, they look like old men!

The repetition of in those days (vs. 26) introduces the part of the poem which describes the return to Torah and the ensuing renewal of life. The three lines of vs. 26 all refer to the return to Torah. The parallelism of Torah, commandments, and faithfulness reveals the understanding of faithfulness inherent in the poem. Faithfulness to God means obedience to Torah.[1]

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turn to Torah. To say this does not mean that from a phenomenological standpoint the deterioration of the creation is not involved. The association of intense distress with the approach of the renewal of Israel through return to Torah may easily be seen as a specific Torah-oriented manifestation of the universal type. Thus, the passage may be understood both naturalistically and phenomenologically as well as from the specific standpoint of a specifically Israelite theology.

[1] Both this passage and the Qumran Manual of Discipline understand the return to Torah to be crucial for participation in Israel's renewal. The Manual speaks of those who enter the Qumran community as those who "undertake by oath of obligation to be converted to the Law of Moses according to all his commands" (v, 8). The members of the community are to "watch in community for a third of every night of the year, to read the Book and to study the Law and to pray together" (vi, 7-8). Cf. Vermes, op. cit. p. 81. The Qumran commentary on Ps. xxxvii warns that those who do not return to the Law will be cut off from Israel. This does not mean that the Jubilees passage came from Qumran. Along with the calendar of the angelic discourse, however, it gives evidence that at least the authors of Jubilees and the founders of the Qumran community had some common concerns.

The return to Torah will result in a reversal of the conditions described in vss. 24-25. Vs. 27 portrays the restoration of the life span.[1] In part, this is a reference to the return of prosperity and the provision of food. It, too, however, is symbolic of a total community condition, the restoration of health and peace. Death still will be a part of the scheme of things--the promise is long life, not immortality--but there is the assurance that all the effects of sin will be overcome and that the entire period of a man's life will be characterized by youthful vigor (vs. 28).

Verse 29 further describes the quality of life in the community once it returns to Torah. In the place of enemy oppression and the deterioration of life, there will be peace and joy, the elimination of the enemy--the adversary[2]

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[1] The basic point is made in the first line of the verse--men's ages will increase. The second and third lines expand this in terms of almost a thousand years and a number greater...than the days before. The hope for a life that lasts a thousand years is merely a fanciful expression of that hope which appears in a great deal of Israel's literature, namely the hope for a long life as a sign of God's favor. God's gift to the faithful is life, and a long one at that.

The Jubilees reference at this point may be an outgrowth of Is. lxv, 20. There, in the midst of an oracle describing a new heaven and a new earth and especially the glorification of Jerusalem (lxv, 17-25) we read of infants no longer living a few days, but dying a hundred years old.

[2] The Ethiopic shah-ye-tay-nah should be translated as a common noum, not the proper noun Satan. The condition in

--and of everything that corrupts life,[1] the assurance of unending blessing and the restoration of health.

At that time (vs. 30) introduces a description of the defeat of the enemy by Israel (vss. 30-31). This description expands the promise in vs. 29 and, at one time, probably was separate from vss. 24-29. At that time refers to the same time to which vss. 24 and 26 refer, the time of the end of Israel's predicament and of the return to Torah. The description in vss. 24-31 is not to be understood as one of rigid sequence. The various elements are more or

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vss. 24-25 to which vs. 29 speaks is Gentile oppression. The first line of the verse--to which the others are parallel--speaks of peace and joy.

The Ethiopic shah-ye-tay-nah appears in four places in Jubilees--x, 11; xxiii, 29; xlvi, 2; l, 5. In x. 11 it should be read as a proper name. Satan is the overseer of the evil spirits--the spirits of the children of the Watchers--who remain on earth. A distinction is implied between Satan and Mastema, the chief of the evil spirits (x, 7-8).

In xlvi, 2 the term might easily be considered a common noun. The point of the reference is not the well-being that has come to Egypt, but the peace that reigned in Israel and the friendliness of Egypt toward them.

In l, 5 the cleaness of the land will be due to the removal of all adversaries and all evil one(s). This verse is the conclusion of the second edition of Jubilees. As we are in the process of showing, the ones who cause trouble in this stratum are the Gentile enemy and the unfaithful Israelite.

Only in x, 11, then, should the proper name Satan appear in the translation.

[1] Charles translated zah-yeh-may-shen as destroyer. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 49. The evidence in Dillmann's lexicon, however, points to corruptor as the better translation. Dillman, Lexicon, p. 178.

less simultaneous in "that" time, rather than sequential. The faithful dead appear in celebration in vss. 30-31, and this celebration is the basic thrust of the lines. The celebration, in turn is a continuation of the promise of the defeat of the enemy.[1]

The healing in vs. 30 is a healing not of the physical bodies of the citizenry, but of the nation as a military, political unit. The restored nation then will be the instrument of God's vengance, his servants (vs. 30),[2] and although their warfare is one of vengeance for their own grievances against the Gentiles, the faithful perceive that it is God who truly executes judgment (vs. 31). Knowing this, they will rest in peace in their graves, knowing that their death has not gone unseen by their God. He has brought victory over the enemy, and now they shall see their wrongs accounted and their curses upon the enemy (vs. 30).[1] This victory of Israel is assurance to the

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[1] Charles indicated the influence of Is. lxv, 20 on vs. 29, and noticing the presence of the wicked in the "consummated kingdom," he was puzzled by the Jubilees scene in vss. 29-30. Specifically, he was bothered by what he perceived as the absence of the wicked in vs. 29 and their presence in vs. 30. Cf. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 48-49. Referring to T. Lev. xviii, where we are told that the Gentiles will be multiplied in knowledge and enlightened through grace, he suggested that in Jubilees the wicked are to be gradually eliminated. That vss. 29 and 30 originally were separate easily accounts for the awkwardness. By joining the verses, the author has indicated a renewal of Israel in which vs. 29 is a long range view, while vs. 30 describes the routing of the enemy in the near future. Charles' problem arises both from his determination to locate a messianic era and from his failure to recognize that different traditions with different outlooks have been woven into a single work with some irreconcilable details remaining in tension.

Volz suggested that vs. 30 is a later expansion of the scene in vs. 29, but he simply suggested it as a means of clearing up the difficulty and did not note the difference between the introductory phrases as support. Neither Testuz nor Martin suggest different sources. Cf. Volz, op. cit., p. 29.

[2] In the War Scroll and the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran, the great eschatological battle is to be between the community of the elect as the instruments of God and

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the nations under the power of Belial. Cf. 1QM I, XVIII; 1Q P Hab VII. This is one more example of the similarity of outlook between the authors of Jubilees and the writers in the Qumran community. Both were influenced by many of the same traditions. The early members of Qumran probably heard the first edition of Jubilees as an authoritative work. They may also have heard the second edition with eagerness, but have become disillusioned with the Maccabean rulers and departed for Qumran.

[1] The comments on the faithful dead are not a promise of immortality as such, but an indication of how those who have died--especially those who died under difficulty will benefit from a justice realized after their death. Actually, the reference is an expansion of, and is subservient to, the portrayal of Israel's defeat of the enemy. The real point is not the rejoicing of the dead, but that which they celebrate.

This is a more lively existence for the dead than that in the general Old Testament view, but it is not so far in the direction of resurrection as the view in Daniel 12:2. This tells us nothing of the chronology of Jubilees xxiii, 31 and Daniel, but it shows they come from circles with different expectations. Here the faithful dead are in their graves. (Martin thought they are viewed as being in Eden. Cf. Martin *op. cit.*, p. 531.) The use of *bones* and *spirits* does not mean a resurrection of the spirit, as Charles thought (Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 49). The lines are parallel. Man is a unity, even in death. The verse reflects the restlessness of the dead until they have been avenged, but the faithful also include the dead faithful that their God is indeed the one who is in charge of things.[1]

3. The prose interpretation (vss. 14-23)

As already has been pointed out, the eschatological passage is united to the angelic discourse by a backward glance to all these things. Man's general plight since the flood is not merely the condition which man inherits. Each generation bears its own burden of guilt. Here the author of the eschatological passage also relates the description of the deterioration of life in vs. 25 to the continuing

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from a time long passed, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, among others. The redactor did not speculate on such things in the prose. How he regarded such things is not indicated. His concern is with the victory of the living.

[1] The original setting for this poetic description of what is to come may have been a ceremony of covenant renewal. It is descriptive of the evil through which the faithful must go before God brings the new age. The verses may reflect the outlook of a group who saw Israel under the influence of faithless men, but who believed that the time would come when in Israel itself--conceivably even outside the group itself, among the children--there would be a return to Torah. The verses reflect not necessarily an expectation that those who have preserved them are to be the means of Israel's salvation, but perhaps merely a word of encouragement, a cry to hold on.

The curses originally may have included ritual curses. In the present context, these are the curses scattered throughout the discourse.

The context of the verses was one in which the holy war ideal was kept alive. The Qumran community is a likely place for such perpetuation, but surely not all the militancy in Palestine was centered on the shores of the Dead Sea.

condition of man as set forth in the discourse. The cry in Ps. xc, 10--adapted by the author of the discourse in vs. 12 --has been adapted again by the author of the eschatological passage in vs. 14 and made an interpretation of the condition described in the poem. The author of the eschatological passage knows that vs. 25 is hyperbole, but he knows that it is a hyperbolic prophecy now being fulfilled.

In that generation introduces a description of the struggle between the generations in Israel (vss. 16-20). The entire passage is a description of the sons...convict(ing) their fathers and their elders of sin and unfaithfulness. With this description the author relates that part of the poem concerning the children returning to Torah (vss. 26-29) to his own day. The advocates of strict adherence to Torah in his generation are the fulfillment of the prophecy in the poem.[1]

The sequence of events in the prose are the wickedness of the generation and the specific presence of the perennial condition of man (vss. 14-15), the rebellion of the younger generation (vss. 16-20),[1] and the punishment from God, in the form of Gentile oppression. The description in vss. 16-20 fits extremely well the events of the period of the Chasidim and the Maccabean revolt.[2] The older generation is seen to be an unfaithful, wicked people who have rejected the covenant by turning aside from Torah. The existing order of Israelite society has been built on a base of covenant violation.[3]

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[1] The entire passage (vss. 14-31) portrays the events of the eschatological period. In that generation (vs. 16) and in those days (vs. 26), consequently, both refer to the same period. That vss. 16 and 26 may not be understood sequentially--as though the author had constructed a series of occurences throughout the passage--is indicated by the introductory formula. Since the author of the passage has described in prose the same event that appears in the poem, we must look to the prose--that part over which the author has more control--for a clarification of the poetry.

In vss. 17-18 the intensity of the wickedness of the elders of the author's generation is described in lines which are based on canonical and extra-canonical sources.[1] All have done evil (vs. 17a) and violated the covenant (vs. 16).

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[1] As we shall see, vs. 21 is an interpolation.

[2] The first steps in an active program of hellenization were undertaken voluntarily by members of the Jewish community (I Macc. i, 11-15; II Macc. iv, 7-14), and the early struggles of the period were against the hellenistic Jews, more than against the Seleucids. Cf. Elias Bickerman, The Maccabees: An Account of their History from the Beginnings to the Fall of the House of the Hasmoneans, trans. Moses Hadas (New York: Schocken Books, 1947), pp. 25-31; Josephus, Antiquities XII, vi, 2, 4; I Macc. ii, 44-48. Among the early opponents of the hellenists were the Chasidim. On the Chasidim cf. W.O.E. Oesterley, A History of Israel, Vol. II (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 383. When the Maccabean revolt broke out, the Chasidim seem at first to have engaged in a more passive resistance. Eventually, they joined the struggle (I Macc. ii, 42-44), but when the fight for religious freedom had been successful (ca. 164 B.C.), they took no further part in the struggle. The author of the eschatological passage does not clearly distinguish between resistance groups. The sons include the Maccabean warriors (vs. 20), but is not confined to them.

[3] Charles believed the fathers to be those in authority in the community. This is probably correct. It also is possible that the resistance movement's leadership was in the hands of younger men. The reference to children returning to Torah in the poem has influenced the terminology.

That the terms the sons and the fathers in vs. 16 are not to be interpreted too literally is indicated by vs. 19. The description of young and old, rich and poor, beggar and prince struggling together points to the way that the struggle involves everyone in the community.[2]

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[1] Vs. 17ab is an abbreviated form of Is. ix, 17b. The parallelism of vs. 17cd reveals it to be a fragment of poetry. Vs. 18a is a pronouncement of judgment, and the rest of the verse is an expansion of the judgment, an expansion which also manifests a parallelism (vss.18bc, 18 def). That vs. 18 has been adopted from an existing source also is indicated by the reference to the sins of the children of men, rather than to the children of Israel.
Vss. 17-18 probably already were a unit describing the wickedness of men before they were taken over for use here. Their function is to elaborate the great wickedness which the children of Israel do. Vs. 18 is a judgment which is out of place as a description of the wickedness unless it already was a development of vs. 17.

[2] The first half of vs. 19 (And they shall strive... because of Torah and the covenant) contains both a description of impending chaos and the reason for the chaos. The rest of the verse gives the reason in terms of violation of commandment, covenant, jubilees, etc. The first half taken alone may be read as a description in which the struggle is the consequence of the entire nation forgetting Torah. The second half clarifies the first half by making the ones who have violated Torah the guilty ones. That this limits the scope of guilt in the present context is shown by vs. 20, where the guilty are attacked with swords and bows by the faithful. Vs. 19a likely is a passage borrowed from some now unknown source and adapted to the present context.
The prediction of an eschatological struggle between the generations is found in Mic. vii, 5-7, and this passage

Vs. 20 describes the Maccabean revolt. It is a continuation of the section begun at vs. 16, however, and is not to be distinguished from the scene in that verse. The author has made no distinction between the early resisters and the Maccabean warriors. At the time of his writing, it was one struggle.[1] This supports for the passage a date early in the Maccabean wars, before the goals of the Chasidim--religious freedom--were won and the battle was entirely one for political independence. The Maccabean uprising was the beginning of the struggle about which the author saw vss. 30-31 to have been written. It was viewed by him as the fulfillment of prophecy, and with the success of the Chasidim and the Maccabean he anticipated the

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was directly influential on the tradition in Mk. xiii, 12; Mt. x, 34-36; and Lk. xii, 51-53 and on Sot. ix, 15. In the latter the reference concerns what will happen when the footsteps of the Messiah appear; in the former, what will happen when men follow Jesus. Since Jesus appears in the Gospels as an eschatological figure, however, the use of the passage still is eschatological. In the Mishnah passage the struggle reflects the general decay of the family structure. In the Gospel passages it reflects the hard test to which the faithful will be put by those who reject the gospel.

This does not mean that the Micah passage has been used in Jubilees at this point, but it shows that the concept of a struggle between the generations is not unique in Jubilees. R_1 might easily have adapted an existing tradition. If so, he has again turned to existing material in the construction of his prose passage, thereby using sources to interpret sources (the poem), just as has been done in i, 4b-26.

[1] For a similar description of the Chasidic movement and the Maccabean revolt, cf. I En. xc, 6-12.

arrival of an indeterminate time of peace, health, and joy.

Vs. 21 is an interjection made after the Maccabean wars, or at least after the Temple was retaken,[1] but the identity of those who have escaped is not so easy to establish. Charles identified them as Alcimus and his followers,[2] and there are substantial grounds for this identification.[3] It is more likely, however, that although there

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[1] We have already pointed out that the phenomena in vss. 16-20 and 26-29 are not sequential, but simultaneous. The latter, therefore, cannot be a return to Torah in the wake of some continuing rebellion such as vs. 21. Vs. 21, however, indicates that those who will have escaped shall not return to the way. That it is legitimate to be so concerned with the sequence at this point is because vss. 20-21 lie within the same section. Were vs. 21 introduced with a new reference to that generation the sequence would not be so crucial.

Vs. 21 was interpolated in light of the actual course of events, following the Maccabean revolt in order to make vss. 16-20 in keeping with what really happened.

[2] Charles, Jubilees, p. 148.

[3] After the Maccabeans captured the temple, Menelaus--a hellenist--was high priest until 162 B.C. Cf. Bickerman, op. cit., p. 26; Josephus, Antiquities XII, ix, 7; II Macc. xiii, 1-8. He was succeeded by Alcimus. Cf. Bickerman, op. cit., p. 51; I Macc. vii, 1-9. In the midst of the struggle between the forces of various pro-hellenistic and anti-hellenistic views, Alcimus--who was not a member of the high priestly family--was made high priest by Demetrius and was recognized by the Chasidim. Cf. Noth, History, pp. 372-376; I Macc. vii, 9. The Maccabean forces opposed Alcimus assumption of the office, and part of the struggle at this time revolved around whether he should be high priest. Cf. Bickerman, op. cit., p. 52.

Alcimus died in 159 B.C. while his followers were preparing to tear down the wall of the inner court of the temple (I Macc. ix, 54-56), and the high priestly office seems to have been vacant until 152 B.C., when Jonathan--of are difficulties with such an identification, the reference is to the Hasmonean rulers--Simon and John Hyrcanus and that the interpolation was made at Qumran.[1]

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the Maccabean family--assumed the office. Josephus tells us that Judas was high priest for three years, but this finds no support in I or II Maccabees, both of which likely would have capitalized on the fact. Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* XII, x, 6. There is indication in I Macc. vii, 6 that Alcimus was the object of an attack, and in I Macc. vii, 18 we read:

> Then fear and dread of (Alcimus and Bacchides) fell upon all the people, for they said, "There is no truth or justice in them, for they have violated the agreement and the oath which they swore."

[1] Jubilees was quite influential in the thought of those who founded the Qumran community. In the Damascus Document, there is a reference to the time when Israel will be blind to Torah being spelled out in the Book of the Divisions of the Times into their Jubilees and Weeks (CD XVI, 3). This refers, no doubt, to the angelic discourse. All indications are that the Jubilees calendar was used by the community. For the most perceptive work on the calendar at Qumran, cf. Annie Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubiles et de la secte de Qumran: ses origines bibliques," *VT*, III (1953), 250-264.

We know that the attitude expressed in Jub. xxiii, 21 toward the cult officials was shared by the Qumran community (cf. CD VI, 11-VII, 6), and there is a striking similarity between vs. 21 and the reference to the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary:

> ...(He) committed abominable deeds and defiled the Sanctuary of God; and...he stole the goods of the Poor." ($_1$Q P Hab XII, 8-10)

It is no easier to determine the identity of the Wicked Priest than to determine the date of the Damascus Document. The interpolation in Jubilees, moreover, is not a reference to one man, but to the hierarchy of the Temple. The similarities of attitude and expression, however, are reason to believe that the passages came from the same circles. That the other passages in R_2 are not overtly polemic in tone--though the failure to recognize the Temple as the establishment of God's Sanctuary (cf. i, 27-28) carries an implicit

The interpolation at this point has created problems for the interpretation of the entire passage. The passage previously had interpreted contemporary events as the beginning of a new day. The insertion of vs. 21 turns vss. 16-20 into an episode followed by more corruption. Our only alternative now is to interpret the entire passage sequentially. The Maccabean wars are the first episode of a five-episode series of events. The second episode is the Hasmonean dynasty, the coming of the Gentiles is the third episode[1]--and this episode was viewed by the interpolator as yet to be--the return of the children to Torah is the fourth episode, and the eschatological battle in xxiii,

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polemic--leads us to assume that the interpolations were made away from immediate confrontation with the opponents. Thus, the community itself, rather than Jerusalem, is the likely place for them.

The difficulty with the identification is that the objects of the verse are *those who have escaped*. The Hasmoneans wielded the sword. Consequently, they cannot be those who escaped the sword. The interpolator, however, was referring to the *blood...shed upon the earth*, one by another--i.e., to the bloodshed in general.

A second difficulty is the terminology in vs. 21. This verse is the only one in Jubilees to use the term *Holy of Holies*. The others refer to *the sanctuary*. In all the others, however, the Temple as a whole is involved. *The sanctuary* is a figure of speech representing the Temple and not merely the sanctuary proper. In vs. 21, on the other hand, it is precisely the high altar that is of concern. There is no significant reason, then, to disassociate this interpolation from the others relating to the sanctuary.

[1] The Gentiles probably were understood by R$_2$ to be a combination of the forces named in the Qumran scrolls according to specific nations (cf. for example, $_1$QM I, 2).

30-31 is the fifth and final episode.[1] The eschatology of the passage itself does not seem radically to have been altered. The time-table has been altered. As the analysis of i, 27-28 shows, however, the sanctuary-oriented stratum introduced a new creation motif, and we must read vss. 14-31 in that context in the present edition of the book.[2]

Vss. 22-23 interpret the Gentile oppression of vs. 24 as the consequence of the wickedness of Israel.[3] This generation introduces a new comment about the evil generation of vs. 14. The extremity of God's pleasure is shown in the extremity of his judgment. The Seleucids whom God has brought against Israel are portrayed in violent terms not only because of their violence, that is, but primarily because their violence is a sign of God's own violent displeasure. Their lack of mercy and compassion is a sign that God's own mercy and compassion are absent for the moment. This function of the verses means that we must not be concerned with whether the Seleucids truly were the most vicious nation or whether there literally was no one to bury the dead.[1] This is hyperbole. Its intention is to produce a shock of recognition in the readers, a shock out of which they will confess their guilt and return to covenant faithfulness.

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[1] The appearance of the Seleucids alone is thus necessarily assumed in the picture of bloodshed in vss. 16-20, but is not explicitly noted.

[2] In the present edition, that is, the return will be accompanied by the restoration of faithful, pure worhip in the Temple and a renewal of the creation itself.

[3] On the construction of vs. 23 cf. pp. 56-57n.

4. The relation of vss. 14-31 to the rest of the book

xxiii, 14-31--excepting vs. 21--was added to the angelic discourse by R_1. This is indicated by three things. The first is that both i, 4b-26 and xxiii, 14-31 concern the faithfulness of God in a time of trouble. In i, 6 God tells Moses that when all these things come upon Israel, they will know that he has been more faithful than they. In i, 5 he says that they will know he has not forsaken them. xxiii, 14-31 portrays both the trouble that God brings upon Israel for her unfaithfulness and his faithfulness to them when the children return to Torah. Even the picture of the children returning to Torah and God's subsequent help is echoed in i, 22-23, where the people must confess their guilt as a condition of becoming involved in the renewal God holds out.

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[1] The tenses in the last line are imperfect causative-reflexive and the imperfect active, respectively. On these tenses, Cf. Samuel A.B. Mercer, Ethiopic Grammar with Chrestomathy and Glossary (rev. ed.; New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1961), p. 28.

The second indication of the origin of xxiii, 14-20, 22-31 is closely related to the first. In both passages the central concern is the return to Torah. In i, 23-24, the major point is the circumcised heart and return to the commandments; in xxiii, 14-20, 22-31, return to Torah.

The third indication of the relation between the two passages is the similarity between their hermeneutical methods. In both, ancient traditions are interpreted as having been written about the writer's own day. In i, 4b-26, the biblical texts are interpreted as having been promises of their own day as the time of the return from exile. In xxiii, 14-20, 22-31, an eschatological poem from some circle of tradition has been taken over and interpreted as a poem about the writer's situation--the Maccabean wars.

In light of these three things, we conclude that both i, 4b-26 and xxiii, 14-20, 22-31 are the work of the same redactor.

CHAPTER IV

NON-ESCHATOLOGICAL PASSAGES THAT CONTAIN SIGNIFICANT ESCHATOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

There are several passages in Jubilees whose primary function is not to teach eschatology, but which contain eschatological comment to one degree or another helpful in understanding the eschatological outlook underlying the stratum.

A. v, 1-19

Jub. v-vi is the Jubilees version of the flood. Within these two chapters there are several concerns--faithfulness to Torah (v, 12), eating blood (vi, 12-14), Shevuoth (vi, 17-22), and the jubilee calendar (vi, 23-28).[1] The entire Noah cycle covers iv, 33-x, 17.

The story of the imprisonment of the Watchers and the destruction of their children has been combined with the flood narrative to portray the consequence of lawlessness (v, 2).[1] Charles believed that the Ethiopic text is a

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[1] The flood narrative proper has been set off from the story of the angels by the thorough dating at v, 22. The two stories are not entirely separate, however, and even the standard dating formula does not open the flood story proper, but comes at the point where Noah obeys God's command. Neither has A sharply separated the beginning of the story of the angels from the story of Noah. Not only are the stories intertwined in v, 1-19; the dating of the angels' story is in a certain year of this jubilee, referring to the date in the genealogy (iv, 33).

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[1] In v, 1-19 the biblical tradition (Gen. vi, 1-8) is found in vss. 1-5, 8. The Genesis narrative has been greatly altered. There, a distinction has been made between the offspring of the divine-human union and the mighty men of old (Gen. vi, 4). This may have been due to a fond memory of the mighty men of old and A's determination not to view such legendary figures as the offspring of such an evil occurrence. Cf. Von Rad, Genesis, pp. 109-112. A also has eliminated a number of details not relevant for his purposes in the flood narrative--the number of animals taken into the ark, the unclean animals that were taken, and the dispatching of birds to see whether the flood had subsided. The remarks on the day of judgment are associated with the judgment on the angels, rather than on the flood, thereby shifting the emphasis to that judgment. The flood details are used to show the origin of certain aspects of the calendar.

In vss. 6-7, 9-10 there is a tradition about the imprisonment of the Watchers and the destruction of their children. The events reported in vss. 6-7, 9-10 are found in a lengthy form in I En. 6-12. Either A knew the I Enoch passage or both passages are separate versions of the same tradition.

Vss. 11-16, 19 describe the renewal of the creation at the time of the events of vss. 6-7, 9-10 and warn of the judgment on those who are unfaithful in the new creation. (Such an interpretation of these verses will be verified as the analysis of vss. 1-16 proceeds.) These verses are the interpretive work of the author of the angelic discourse. They interpret the judgment on the Watchers and their children. Their primary point is that God has made faithfulness possible and he expects it to be forthcoming. The eschatological note functions as a warning for those who are unfaithful. Its purpose is not to teach eschatology, but to incite faithfulness.

But of the children of Israel (vs. 17) introduces a qualification to the entire passage. It weakens the threat of judgment. Charles believed vss. 17-18 to be an interpolation from xxxiv, 18-19. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 20. There is no reason to doubt that A included such a qualification, however, since the purpose of the discourse was to turn the readers back to Torah. On the other hand, the repetition of it has been/is written and ordained in vss. 17-18 suggests that vs. 18 is an addition intended to corruption of the original Hebrew in vss. 11-12 and that originally the verses referred to the new creation in the future.[1] Since the descendents of Noah did become corrupt, he believed, the Hebrew verbs must have been imperfects, which were misunderstood by the Greek translators. Martin also thought the passage refers to the future, but he assumed it to be misplaced.[2]

Since the Ethiopic text may be understood with no difficulty at all, however, it should be retained just as it is.[3] The call to be faithful to God is set in the con-

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interpret vs. 17. The Day of Atonement is not introduced in Jubilees until xxxiv, 18-19, and vs. 17 alone does not call for a specific time of turning. It merely calls for repentance. Vs. 18 was added by some unknown editor at a later date. R_2 may have added it.

[1] Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 20; Jubilees, p. 10a.

[2] Martin, op. cit., p. 508.

[3] Charles and Martin were led astray by the reference to the day of condemnation (vs. 10). Charles seems to have assumed that vss. 11-12 must be a continuation of vss. 10b--when judgment will be executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord. He assumed, that is, that vs. 10b was intended primarily as eschatological teaching to describe the day of condemnation. Martin simply was swayed by Charles' assumption that the verbs originally were imperfect.

In reality, vs. 10b is a stereotype of the day of judgment. The narrative of the judgment on the Watchers and their offspring is a prototype of the judgment to come. The primary purpose of the entire passage--as has been stated--is to incite faithfulness to Torah, and the judgment described is a warning of what will happen in the future. Vss. 11-12 are not a continuation of vs. 10b, which is a parenthetical expression, but of the main context of God's act of renewal in the days of the flood so that the evil condition into which men had sunk might be remedied. Vs. 12 gives the purpose for the event described in vs. 11. Vss. 13-16 describe the scope and the inevitability of God's judgment on those who do not take advantage of the second chance God has given the world, and it is this which provides us with certain insight into the eschatological outlook of A. There will be a time of judgment, men will be judged on the basis of their faithfulness (vs. 13), they will be unable to escape judgment (vs. 14), and they will be unable to bribe God, who is the judge (vs. 16).[1] Only those who return to faithfulness will escape judgment (vss. 17, 18).

Implicit in such a view is the assumption that the Gentiles will be judged, for it can hardly be doubted

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tent of vs. 10--the judgment on the Watchers and their children.

R_1 may have detected the new creation motif in the Genesis flood narrative. In Gen. vii, 11-viii, 5 the creation almost returns to primitive chaos. Gen. viii, 20 describes Noah as the first tiller of the soil. On the other hand, the new creation motif in Genesis may have been elaborated in circles of the Israelite community and may have influenced R_1.

[1] The rhythm of vss. 14-16 leads us to believe they are liturgical fragments. Vs. 16 is rooted in Deut. x, 17. This suggests that we must not look to the verses for an explicit blue print of the day of judgment but should allow for poetic license on the part of A. The point of the verses is essemtially the inevitability of judgment on those who do not follow Torah.

that, for A, faithfulness is measured by adherence to Torah. He does not talk about the Gentiles, however, for his concern is with Israelite lawlessness.

The reference to the day of condemnation in vs. 10 is not eschatological in function, but is a temporal designation for the length of the imprisonment of the spirits. It has served, however, as an opportunity for a comment (vs. 10b) which emphasizes that there will be such a day.

B. viii, 10-ix, 15

Jub. viii, 10-ix, 15 describes the division of the earth among the sons and grandsons of Noah.[1] The function

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[1] The narrative about the division of the land originally was separate from the genealogical list and the play on words on Peleg's name to which it now is attached. In the note about dividing the land in the genealogy, the sons divide the land secretly. In the description of the division, they are given land according to a list drawn up by Noah. The date and the words and it came to pass introduce the division narrative.

That several traditions have gone into the present makeup of the Noah portion of the discourse is evident from the duplications of the story of the Watchers and their children. It appears first as a part of the flood story (v, 1-11) and then as a part of Noah's admonition to his sons concerning fornication and uncleanness (vii, 20-39; cf. vss. 21-25.

The different blocks of tradition which may be detected are Noah's admonition (vii, 20-39), the genealogical entries (viii, 1-8), the land division narrative (viii, 8-ix, 15), the story of the imprisoning of the evil spirits (x, 1-14), and the death of Noah (x, 15-17a). A's mark on the material may be found in the jubilee dates supplied at vii, 20; viii, 1, 5-8, 10; and x, 1. The indication in vii, 27 that the demons have begun to lead Noah's of the narrative in the angelic discourse was to assert Israel's ownership of Palestine as a fact rooted in history. Originally, the passage ended with the words till the day of judgment. The reference was in no way eschatological, but was merely an expression signifying the duration of the curse on those who violate land ownership. The words which follow, however, have turned the curse into a statement of judgment.[1] The passage no longer merely affirms Israelite

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sons astray marks vii, 20-39 as a tradition separate from x, 1-14. Originally, x, 1ff may have been a continuation of vii, 19. It explains the presence of evil despite the imprisonment of the Watchers.

By uniting the land division narrative and the account of the demons leading Noah's sons astray with the story of Shinar (x, 18-26) and that of Canaan taking Palestine (x, 27-36), A has helped us see the reason for the land division narrative with its vindication of Israelite ownership of Palestine. It sets the stage for the Canaanite seizure of the land of Shem. It is not surprising that A still would feel constrained to attack the Canaanites. Sidon and Tyre were centers of Greek philosophy and of hellenism in the last centuries B.C. Cf. A.S. Kapelrud, "Phoenicia," IDB, Vol. III, p. 803. The narrative explains their reduction in size and power. The curse has taken its toll.

In viii, 10-30 the land is divided among Ham, Shem and Japheth. In ix, 1-14a it is divided among their sons, Vss. 14b-15a describe an oath-taking ceremony, including the oath, the curse on violators, and the affirmation. On the curse as a form, cf. Stanley Gervitz, "Curse," IDB, I, p. 750.

[1] Curses and judgments are different forms. The nature of their fulfillment is different. Curses are self-efficacious. They may be spoken by either God or man. Judgments are pronouncements and acts of God. Cf. Gervitz, op. cit. That the narrative originally referred only to the curse is supported by the way that in the story of Canaan's usurpation in x, 30-32 only the curse is mentioned.

ownership of Palestine and explains the reduction of Canaan. It is an attack upon the Phoenicians for their *unclean wickedness*--the way they have filled the earth with *transgression, uncleanness, fornication, and sin*.

The judgment saying, then, has added to this passage an eschatological element. On the day of judgment the Phoenicians will be judged for their surrender to the ways of hellenism and for spreading hellenism in Palestine. Most likely, A was responsible for this alteration. It fits his concerns precisely. The words *with sword and fire* are an eschatological stereotype.

C. xv, 1-34

This chapter of Jubilees describes the origin of circumcision and sets forth the commandments concerning the rite.[1] A has composed the unit from Gen. xvii and the rules regarding circumcision set forth in the circle of which he was a part.[1] The function of the unit is to

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[1] The elaborate dating of the incident introduces the unit. The setting is the Shevuoth festival. For A, *Shevuoth* is important as the time of covenant renewal. The *Ethiopic* manuscripts have both *su-VAY-ee* (sing., *week*) and *su-VAY-et* (pl., *weeks*). Zeitlin and Testuz have both noted that the Hebrew *Shevuoth* may be read as the plural of either *Shevua* (oath) or *Shevuah* (week), or of both. They suggest the author intended to speak not of the Feast of Weeks, but of the Feast of Oaths. Cf. Zeitlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; Testuz, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-149. The significance of the festival for Jubilees is obvious by the number of times it is the occasion for important events (xvi, 13; xxviii, 15; xxix, 7; xliv, 1-4 and probably xvii, 1). Testuz and Zeitlin are partially correct that A has interpreted *Shevuoth* as the plural of *Shevua* rather than of *Shevuah*,

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but it probably is more correct to view the word as a pun. When is the proper time to observe *Shevuoth* (oaths, especially the *Shevuoth* central to Israel's history)? *Shevuoth* (Weeks)! Perhaps even more importantly, however, what does *Shevuoth* (Weeks) really mean? *Shevuoth* (Oaths)! This may have been an attempt by A to eliminate what he viewed as still more Canaanite remains from Israelite life. He obviously was proposing a non-agricultural calendar to replace one that was suitable for agriculture. Jubilees thus reflects a stage of the development of *Shevuoth* into a celebration of the reception of Torah. Cf. J. C. Rylaarsdam, "Weeks, Feast of," *IDB*. Vol IV, pp. 827-828.

[1] Vss. 3-24 are almost a word for word recital of Gen. xvii. There are, however, a few modifications of the content. Abraham's age has been omitted from the opening. In Gen. xvii, 1 it sets the date for the story. The angelic discourse does not eliminate his age completely--it appears in vs. 17--but the element of wonder over the birth has been toned down in favor of the emphasis on the rite of circumcision as a law commanded by God. In vs. 14, Abraham is commanded to *approve* himself before God, which may have been intended as an interpretation of *walk before me* in Gen. xvii, 1. A was concerned with both the covenant and the law, but that in the Jubilees passage the emphasis is on the commandment is seen in vs. 6 where the original *my covenant is with you* (Gen. xvii, 4) has been changed to *my ordinance is with you*. The promise of fruitfulness for Abraham in Gen. xvii, 6 has been altered to a promise of greatness (Jub. xv, 8). The rules have been tightened in vs. 14 by adding *the eighth day* as the day for circumcision (cf. Gen. xvii, 10). The promise that Sarah will be the mother of nations and kings (Gen. xvii, 16) has been altered, in line with the emphasis on the patriarchs, to apply the promise to Isaac as the father of nations and kings (Jub. xv, 16). In vs. 20 the promise of fruitfulness again has been altered to a promise of greatness. This time the promise is for Ishmael (cf. Gen. xvii, 20). In vs. 23, Ishmael's age has been eliminated, possibly to avoid the necessity of qualifying the command that children be circumcised on the eighth day (cf. Gen. xvii, 25).

It is possible that A used a text of the Genesis narrative different from our own, but the alterations are order circumcision of all Israelite males. As such it is not eschatological. In vs. 26, however, there is the warning that all who are not circumcised are not children of the covenant. There can be little doubt that the reference concerns the day of judgment. Although its function is not to teach eschatology as such, but to drive the readers back to faithfulness, there is an obvious doctrinal presupposition. In the new day for Israel, the Gentiles and unfaithful Israelites will no longer disturb the faithful, for they will have been slain from the earth. Implicit also is a particularistic eschatology--not all Israelites, but only those faithful to Torah, will enjoy the new day.

In vss. 33-34 the angel speaks of the violations which he knows will come. These obviously point to the violations of the author's own day, and the angel warns that such violations will result in God's wrath against Israel. The same warning as in vs. 26 is applied to these offenders. They shall be rooted from the land. This passage also anticipates the eschatological judgment, but its function is to incite obedience to the command for circumcision.

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understandable in terms of his interests. The chances are good, then, that he is responsible for them. He has provided the Shevuoth date for the incident, as previously noted, and has used the altered narrative to show the origin of circumcision in the ancestral history.

D. xvi, 1-9

A has followed the Pentateuchal double tradition of the promise of a child to Abraham and Sarah (Gen. xvii, 1-xviii, 15) and has reported the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and the deliverance of Lot (Gen. xviii, 16-xix, 29), though all are found in only summary fashion.[1] He has used both the destruction of Sodom and the sin of Lot as a warning against non-Israelite ways.[2] The fate of the Ammonites and the Moabites--the descendents of Lot--is proof that God does indeed bring judgment on those who imitate the Gentiles.[1] On the day of judgment, even those who remain will be destroyed.

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[1] The second account of the promise is introduced with a minor notation of the date--the new moon of the fourth month (vs. 1).

[2] The summary of the destruction is followed by the author's evaluation of the Sodomites (vs. 5) and a warning that all who follow their ways will be judged. The summary of Lot's deliverance and sin (vs. 8) is followed by the penalty imposed upon his descendents (vs. 9). The judgment on Lot and his descendents proves the accuracy of the warning about those who act like Sodomites.

The terms used in describing the Sodomites are nebulous ones--wickedness, sinfulness, fornication, uncleanness. They are epithets describing unfaithfulness, or imitation of non-Israelites, in general. Similar terms were used to describe the Phoenicians (ix, 15). The specific warning is against uncleanness like Sodom's, but all Gentile ways are unclean. The use of Sodom and Gomorrah to describe sinfulness is not unusual. Cf. Deut. xxix, 23; xxxii, 32; Is. i, 10; xiii, 19; Jer. xxiii, 14.

Although it contains a strong eschatological element, the primary purpose of the passage is not to teach about eschatology, but to exhort the readers to remain faithful by obeying Torah. The eschatological element is a warning that all those who imitate the Gentiles will be destroyed on the day of judgment. As in the previous passage, then, the presupposition reflected here is that of nationalism, particularism, and legalism.

E. xxii, 11b-23

We already have had occasion to examine the unit in Jub. xxii-xxiii in connection with the eschatological addition xxiii, 14-31. We have seen the complex nature of the unit's history.[1] The portion which concerns us now is xxii, 11b-23.[2] This is a blessing of Abraham, a blessing which includes a blessing proper (vss. 11b-15) and a series of commandments concerning relations with Gentiles (vss. 15-23).[3] The purpose of the passage is to instruct the readers to avoid the Gentiles. The Canaanites of the poem should not be understood here as a reference to the Phoenicians only. They are in the poem which A has taken over and are only one example of idol worshippers. Israel is to separate herself from all the nations. In this is her true faithfulness. The wickedness of all men is further spelled out in xxiii, 9-10.

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[1] The people who occupied Ammon and Moab at the time the angelic discourse was written were not the true descendants of the ancient foes of Israel. Arab conquests in the middle of the seventh century B.C. resulted in the abandonment of Moabite cities from the sixth century onward. Bedouin hordes from the desert overran the land. There were brief periods of political stability from the third century onward in Ammon, and under the Tobiads there even was rivalry with the house of Onias in the third century B.C. for the high priesthood in Jerusalem. The Nabateans appeared in Ammon in the first century B.C. Cf. G.M. Landes, "Ammon," IDB, Vol. I, pp. 109-113,--, "The Material Civilization of the Ammonites," The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, 2, ed. David N. Freedman and Edward F. Campbell, Jr. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 87-88. E. D. Grohman, "Moab," IDB, Vol. III, p. 417-419; B.T. Dahlberg, "Tobiah," IDB, Vol. IV, p. 657.

A saw the decline of this ancient foe as the judgment of God.

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[1] Cf. pp. 54-55n.

[2] That two traditions are involved is obvious from the two introductory blessing formulae in the prose of vs. 10 and the poetry of vs. 11b. The poem and the prose both express essentially the same ideas--blessing and faithfulness. The commands in the poem spell out the meaning of faithfulness and God's will mentioned in the prose. A has included the poem here, then, because it makes explicit the content of the prose blessing. Two things indicate that the prose was a tradition and has not been merely created by A. 1) Were it not already a tradition, there would have been no reason for it. It does not interpret or clarify. On the contrary, the poetry clarifies the prose. 2) The term commanding in vs. 25 is a technical term referring to a man's last will and testament. Cf. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 47. Vs. 24 fits this description precisely. Moreover, vs. 25 says that Abraham ceased commanding and blessing Jacob. These are the content of the prose in vss. 10, 24. It is easy to see how A concerned with rooting anti-Gentile commandments in the mouth of a patriarch might use the word command as the occasion for the poem. He has inserted the poem into the tradition between what is now vss. 11a, 24.

[3] There are distinct fragments of material in the commandment portion of the poem. Vss. 16-18 call for separation from the nations and then the reason is given--their works are unclean (vs. 16d), they sacrifice to the dead (vs. 17), they make idols (vs. 18). Vs. 19 is a blessing which closes these verses by asking that God will remove Jacob from the Gentile threat. Vs. 20 begins the commandments again. Jacob is not to take a wife from among the Canaanites. Now the general attitude toward the nations

The eschatological reference in this passage is vs. 21. No Canaanites will be spared on the day of judgment. Obviously, we must take great care in listening to this verse for the eschatological outlook of the angelic discourse. It too is a part of the poetry he has taken over. The eschatological assumptions that we have detected already in the discourse, however--expulsion of the Gentiles and of faithless Israelites on the day of judgment--are confirmed here. The function of the eschatological reference is to warn those who are tempted to follow the practices of

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has become specific with regard to Canaan. This marks vs. 20 as coming from a separate tradition. Vs. 21 is the reason for the command in vs. 20. Vs. 22 is an attack upon idols. It is not a command, but a judgment saying. It probably had been added to vs. 21 already when A received it. The association of the two is fairly clear. The sexual aspects of Canaanite religion and the association of idolatry with adultery as far back as Hosea and Jeremiah probably led to the addition as an interpretation of Canaan's "error" (vs. 21). Vs. 23 is another closing blessing, originally closing vss. 20-22.

hellenism that they too will be destroyed.[1]

F. xxiv, 8-33

Jub. xxiv, 8-27, 33 is a prose narrative which provides the context for a curse on the Philistines.[2] The curse is presented as the act of a patriarch, thus lending authority to it. With a few exceptions,[3] the narrative follows the Pentateuchal narrative in Gen. xxiv. The curse, excepting one verse (vs. 29), is in poetry (vss. 28, 30-32). The poem has undergone a process of growth, however, so that although it begins as a curse, it quickly becomes a judgment saying.[1] The total passage (vss. 8-33) shows that God has kept his promise to be with Israel (vs. 22), for he has dealt severely with those who have treated Israel harshly.[2]

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[1] Because of the way that A has taken over the poem and the use to which he has put it, any attempt to spell out a doctrine of the afterlife on the basis of the references to Sheol in vs. 22 is ill-advised. A does not speculate on the after-life. Testuz, Martin, and Volz are beside the point when they attempt to find a specific view on the matter in the book. The references that appear are nowhere the object of treatment, but are incidental. Cf. Testuz, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-524; Volz, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[2] The Philistines were Ptolemaic subjects for almost a century until the battle of Panion in 200 B.C., when Antiochus III brought the Phoenician and the Palestinian coast under Seleucid control. Prior to their life as Ptolemaic subjects they had been under Phoenician domination. During the fourth to the first centuries B.C. Philistine cities such as Gaza and Ashdod became political and military pawns in the struggles among the dominant nations of the Mediterranean world. Cf. Noth, *History*, pp. 349-350; G. Ernest Wright and Floyd V. Filson, *The Westminster Historical Atlas to the Bible* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1956), p. 62.

[3] As usual, jubilee dates have been assigned (vss. 8, 12, 17, 21, 22). The famine begins before Esau sells his birthright, rather than afterward (xxiv, 2; cf. Gen. xxv, 29), the lie about Rebecca to Abimelech (Gen. xxvi, 7-10) is omitted, and the oath ceremony between Isaac and Abimelech (Gen. xxvi, 26-31) has been summarized in one sentence (Jub. xxiv, 26). A significant change is the failure to find water in the last well they dig (vs. 25), for this sets the stage for the curse. (The Genesis narrative reports the well now in Jub. xxiv, 24 as the last one.)

This curse must have been a part of the liturgical traditions in at least some of the circles in which the narrative circulated. It described what will happen to the Philistines until and on the day of judgment.[3] As a judgment saying it now has become specifically concerned with what will happen to them on the day of judgment. It is impossible to say how much of the development of the curse into a judgment saying had taken place when A did his work, but his hand easily may be detected at vs. 33.[1] If vss. 30-32 were not already joined to vs. 28 as a unit by the time he produced the discourse, he united them. There is nothing, however, to raise a serious doubt that the poem already existed as it now appears when A produced the discourse.

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[1] Vs. 28 begins the curse. Vs. 29 is in prose and is not concerned with the curse until the day of judgment, but with the plight of the Philistines on that day. Vss. 30-32 return to poetry, but vs. 30 explicitly concerns the day of judgment itself. Vss. 31-32 are now continuations of the day of judgment concern, but originally could refer to events prior to such a day.

Vss. 31-32 are based on Amo. ix, 2-4. In the Amos passage, the scene described is a judgment on Israel. God speaks in the first person. In the Jubilees passage, the verbs are passive. This change may already have taken place when the person responsible for their location in Jubilees received them. The change results in a shift of emphasis from the judgment viewed primarily as the work of God to the judgment as a bad situation for the victims. It would be wrong, however, to make too much of such a shift, for in the present context, their predicament is the work of God and his people.

[2] The development of the curse in vs. 28 results in the self-effecacious curse giving way to the curse secured by God (cf. vs. 28b).

[3] The Hebrew underlying until in vs. 28 is here postulated to have been ʿdh, which frequently includes the

The judgment has altered the curse by emphasizing the specific plight of the Philistines on the day of judgment. On that day they will be totally destroyed. The question of how judgment will come is not a matter of speculation in vss. 30-32. The important thing is that they will be rooted out. The assumption is simply that God will have some way of doing it. The verses were not intended as a blueprint for that day.

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point of the future extremity of time--i.e., it frequently means up to and including. Cf. S.R. Brown, S.R. Driver, and Charles A Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 724a. The likelihood that this is the case here is suggested by the complete obliteration anticipated. If the Philistines are to be so treated until the day of judgment, then certainly the same must be contemplated on that day.

[1] Vs. 33 is in the characteristic language of A--the heavenly tablets are the place where something is written and engraved, the enemy is to be rooted out of the earth.

The prose of vs. 29, however, does give such details. It speaks of both the Kittim and the faithful nation. Regardless of whether the Kittim are the Seleucids or the Romans,[1] it is the faithful nation who will complete the destruction. They are the instruments of God in the eschatological battle.[1]

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[1] The Kittim and the Gentile references are not parallel in vs. 28. The Gentiles is parallel to all the nations. The Gentiles is a general term referring to all the nations who have plundered the Philistines. The Kittim reference belongs with vs. 29 and concerns a specific nation. As we shall see later in the discussion of this passage, vs. 29 is a later addition to vss. 28, 30-33. Consequently, the last line of vs. 28 also is an addition.

The identity of the Kittim is not clear. Their identity in the Dead Sea Scrolls is relevant only if we assume that vs. 29 was added at Qumran. The argument over that problem (the Kittim in the Scrolls) is far from settled. One of the better summaries still is the one by Burrows, though it is ten years old. Miller Burrows, More Light, pp. 194-203. The strongest and best defense of the Kittim in the Scrolls as the Seleucids--rather than as the Romans, as most think--is by Rowley. H.H. Rowley, "The Kittim and the Dead Sea Scrolls," P.E.Q., LXXXVIII (1956), pp. 92-109.

Charles identified the Kittim in the Jubilees verse as the Seleucids; Testuz, as the Romans. Testuz thought vss. 28b-32 were added as a block at Qumran. Charles, Jubilees, p. 155; Testuz, op. cit., pp. 39-42, 177. The evidence is inconclusive. The view of Israel as the instrument of God is similar to R_1's view in xxiii, 30-31, and there were Israelite victories over the Philistines during the Maccabean Wars (I Macc. v, 68; xi, 61). On the other hand, the struggle with the Kittim is reminiscent of the situation anticipated in the Qumran War Scroll (cf. $_1$QM I, XVI-XIX). Vs. 29 may have been added in some circle that later joined the group that formed Qumran, though it probably was made before the actual settlement of the community. If so, the Kittim most likely were the Seleucids. The faithful nation can hardly be other than Israel--though in this instance the faithful remnant is concerned. The recognition throughout Jubilees that some Jews will perish indicates this. There is no difficulty in imagining a change of attitude toward the Maccabean household from the time the addition was made until the Qumran community was founded.

The primary purpose of the passage concerning the Philistines, then, is not to teach eschatological doctrine, but to show why the Philistines have fared as they have among the nations. They oppressed the people of God. Even the eschatological elements that have been added to the original curse have not been added to teach eschatology as such, but to heighten the description of the plight of the Philistines as people who have oppressed Israel.

G. xxxi, 1-32

The complexity of the background of Jubilees is nowhere any better seen than in ch.'s xxxi-xxxii. We can detect several distinct traditions--a version of the Gen. xxxv, 1-4, 6-20 narrative (Jub. xxxi, 1-3a, xxxii, 3a, 17-20a, 30, 33-34), Isaac's deathbed summons for Jacob (xxxi, 4-11, 21-25),[2] Isaac's patriarchal blessing for

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[1] The anti-Gentile bias which we have seen elsewhere is not the dynamic at work here. Consequently, we cannot interpret these verses according to that concern. Instead, the attack is upon all the enemies of Israel.

[2] That two traditions are joined here may be seen from the opening of vss. 4-25. The Genesis tradition portrays Jacob preparing for the celebration of the Feast of Booths. Vs. 4 portrays Isaac as the initiator of Jacob's visit, whereas vs. 3 says that Jacob sent for Isaac and Rebecca. Whoever joined them may have assumed that Isaac's words

Levi and Judah (vss. 13b, 15-20),[1] a narrative of Jacob's celebration of the Tabernacles festival (xxxi, 26-30; xxxii, 1a, 2b, 4-8, 16, 21-22, 31-32),[2] legal requirements (xxxii, 12-15a), additions concerning Levi (xxxi, 14;

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would sound like a response to Jacob. Vs. 3b also conflicts with the narrative in xxxi, 26-30 when vss. 4-25 are removed, for Jacob has not sent (vs. 3b) but gone for Isaac and Rebecca (vss. 26-30).

[1] With the exception of vs. 14, the blessings are examples of the patriarchal blessing found in Gen. xlix, Deut. xxxiii, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Regardless of the origins of either the framework or the individual components within such blessings, they generally reflect the conditions of the objects of the blessings (and curses) at the time in which the blessings were finalized. Consequently, they may begin with _blessed be_..., but they quickly become forecasts of the future. In their eschatological usage, such blessings reflect what the author anticipates, regardless of whether the forecast has already begun to be realized. Cf. Harrelson, _Interpreting the O.T._, p. 71. Von Rad, _Genesis_, pp. 416-423; ---, _Deuteronomy_, trans. Dorthea Barton (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966), pp. 204-208. Hereafter cited as Von Rad, _Deuteronomy_.

The blessings are spoken shortly before a man's death. The narrative in vss. 4-11, 21-25, therefore, is an appropriate context for the poems. If we remove the blessings and their specific introduction (vss. 12-13a), however, the remainder of the prose narrative forms a coherent picture of Isaac's deathbed visit from Jacob, Levi, and Judah. It was not created as the context for the blessings. Instead, the blessings were inserted in order to legitimate them as words from a patriarch. Out of their present context, there is no indication who spoke them. In our analysis of the blessings we shall see the roots of the blessings.

[2] In xxxi, 26-30 Jacob asks his father to go to the celebration, oblivious to the previously described condition of Isaac. Isaac's response reveals his condition.

xxxii, 1b),[1] and the editorial and interpretive work of the author (xxxi, 31-32; xxxii, 10, 15b, 28-29).[2]

We are specifically concerned with the patriarchal blessings on Levi and Judah.[3] As the preceding comments

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[1] The introductory blessing formula is found in xxxi, 13b. Vss. 13b, 15a make a coherent stanza of poetry.

May the God of all, / the Lord of all the ages,
Bless you and your children / throughout all the ages (vs. 13b).
Judges, / princes,
And chiefs shall they be / over all the seed of Jacob (vs. 15a).

Vs. 14 and vs. 15a are concerned with different matters. The addition of vs. 14 has heightened the more commonly conceived priestly role of the Levites.

xxxii, 1b is an addition which accounts for Levi's priesthood on quite different grounds than in the succeeding verses. He had a vision in his sleep. T. Levi ix, 1-4 reports the narrative in Jub. xxxi, 5-xxxii, 9, but the composite nature of the Jubilees narratives necessitates our viewing the Testaments passage as a report of the Jubilees passage. On the other hand, T. Levi, viii has preserved a tradition presupposed in Jub. xxxii, 1b--the angelic vision. (Jubilees says they had ordained him.)

[2] It is not clear how much of the narrative had been united when A received it. He interpreted the blessings on Levi and Judah as the grounds of Israel's hope (xxxi, 32), but whether he joined the blessings to their context and whether he joined that context to the Jubilees version of the Genesis story we cannot say. He may simply be commenting on prior midrash. If he united the blessings and the context, he also added vss. 12-13a.

[3] A proper understanding of the Levi-Judah passage is especially important in light of the question whether there were two messiahs in the eschatological expectations of any sects during the first and second centuries B.C. and, if so, the nature of these messiahs.

The literature in which the presence of two messiahs most frequently is postulated is the Qumran literature ($_1$QS and notes indicate, they began as blessings without the present context. In the angelic discourse, their function is to show why Levi and Judah are the tribes in whose life

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IX, 9-11; CD XII, 23; XIX, 11; XX, 1) and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

In the Qumran documents there are references to the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel and to the anointed one of Aaron and Israel, respectively. The interpretation of these passages has by no means been unanimous. Those seem to be correct, however, who see the Qumran community as having expected two figures to rule the true Israel in the new era. Cf. Karl George Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel." The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 54-64; Joachim Gnilka, "Die Erwartung des Messianischen Hohen-priesters in den Schriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament," *RQ*, II (1960), p. 405.

The generic use of *mashiach* in the Old Testament indicates the soundness of Silberman's warning that it is dangerous and misleading to use capital letters and speak of Messiahs. The refusal to capitalize the word helps to emphasize the functional nature of the concept in Hebrew, a concept whose specific content is contextually determined. To capitalize the word prejudices the case from the start. Lou H. Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline," *VT*, V (1955), pp. 81-82. Burrow's criticism that the Qumran community made no distinction between capital letters and small letters misses the point, for it is precisely the capitalization of the term in English that emphasizes a distinction that is at best questionable. Cf. Burrows, *More Light*, pp. 297-298. We should regard the figures in the Qumran material as men God will set aside to govern the community in the new era. The difference lies in the age in which they exercise authority, not in the men themselves.

In the Old Testament itself we find elements related to the double expectation of an eschatological priestly figure and an eschatological royal figure (Zech. iii-iv). It would be logical for a community which understood itself in cultic terms to expect a renewed priestly leadership in the renewed community.

and welfare the destiny of Israel comes to fulfillment.[1] Although their function is not eschatological, they reflect eschatological presuppositions. The function and glory of the Levites is to last throughout the ages (vss. 13, 14, 16d), and Judah's role as the one in whom the nation survives will continue in the new day when all Israelite enemies are put under her feet (vss. 19-20).

The importance of both Levi and Judah in the angelic discourse is reflected even in the dates of their births. Levi was born on the *ḥodesh* of the first month, a special date in the calendar in Jubilees.[2]

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[1] In numerous passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs both Judah and Levi play roles involving the deliverance of Israel, all of them indicating Levi's primacy over Judah. The problem is whether to regard them in any way as messianic figures. We cannot go into an extensive exegesis of the Testaments in this study, but a close examination suggests that even if the suspected interpolations are omitted, there still are passages that reveal eschatological presuppositions (T. Jud. xxiv, 1-4; T. Lev. xviii; T. Dan v, 4, 9-10; T. Naph. viii, 2-3; T. Ash. viii, 1; T. Jos. xix, 11). The passages which look for an eschatological high priestly figure do not expect someone outside the Levitical priestly line, but someone who will arise in the day of renewal as the High Priest *par excellence*. There is even some indication that he will live forever (T. Lev. xviii, 8).

As Russell notes, the whole issue is complicated and confusing, but the problem may be that there is too great an attempt to separate expectations of rulers in the era of renewal from the institutions of the present era. Cf. Russell, *Method*, p. 315.

[2] Other important events on this date are the completion of the ark (v, 22), the sighting of the earth after the flood subsides (v, 30), Noah's celebration of the return to normalcy after the flood (vii, 2ff), Abraham's

Judah was born on the ḥodesh of the third month, the date of Shevuoth, the ceremony of covenant renewal.[1]

1. The blessing on Levi (vss. 13b-17)

Vs. 13b establishes the passage as a blessing and indicates the duration of the situation described. That the blessing will be upon Levi's children, that it will last throughout the ages, and that it is spoken under the influence of the spirit of prophecy means that A understood it to characterize the situation of the entire Levitical tribe as it should be in his own day as well as in the future.

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sacrifice at Shechem (xiii, 8), Abraham's near sacrifice of Isaac (xvii, 15; xviii, 3), Isaac's vision of God (xxiv, 21ff), Jacob's dream at Bethel (xxvii, 19-27), and the institution of the Passover (xlix, 1). The only other month in which more things happen on the ḥodesh is the third month, the month of Shevuoth.

[1] There is some confusion in Jubilees as to the precise nature of what in the Hebrew was undoubtedly ḥodesh and the fifteenth of the month. In light of all the references to Shevuoth, however, the fifteenth of the third month is the date. The question of what this implies for the meaning of the word ḥodesh is outside the scope of our study. The events on the fifteenth of the third month are the covenant with Noah and the establishment of Shevuoth (vi, 1-21), the renewal of Shevuoth in the time of Moses (vi, 19), the covenant with Abraham (xiv, 1-16), the changing of Abram's and Sarai's names and the establishment of circumcision at Abram's celebration of First Fruits/Shevuoth (xv, 1-34), the birth of Isaac (xvi, 13), the weaning of Isaac (xvii, 1), Isaac's, Ishmael's, and Jacob's journey to celebrate Shevuoth (xxii), Abraham's farewell discourse and death (xxii), the covenant between Jacob and Laban (xxix, 7-8), and Jacob's celebration at the Well of the Oath (xliv, 1, 4).

The blessing of vs. 13b is developed by the rest of the verses addressed to Levi. Vs. 14, however, is a later addition to the original blessing,[1] and its removal leaves the concern of the blessing not with the sacrificial activity of the Levites,[1] but with their function as *judges*, *princes*, and *chiefs*.[2] The meaning of these offices is elaborated in the remainder of vs. 15.

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[1] It interrupts the poetry by breaking the verse in half. Its emphasis is on the priestly function in the sanctuary, the Levites being compared with the Angels of the Presence, and the Holy Ones. As they, the Levites will be glorified, serving God in the Temple as the angels serve in heaven. The greatness of the Levites and their function in the Temple are so interrelated in this verse that they must be understood together. The sanctification of the Levites is for Temple service, and in that service they find their glorification.

This theme is echoed elsewhere in Jubilees (xxx, 18), is in the Qumran material in the blessings of the priests, and may lie partially behind the ideas in Hebrews viii-x.

In the blessing of the priests at Qumran we read, "May you be as an Angel of the Presence in the Holy Dwelling Place to the glory of the God of (Hosts)....May you attend upon the service in the Temple of the Kingdom and decree destiny in company with the Angels of the Presence, in common council (with the Holy Ones) for everlasting ages and time without end...."Cf. Vermes, op. cit., p. 208. Instead of in common council with the Holy Ones, Dupont-Sommer reads and in the Council of the Community. He sees it as a reference to the judiciary role of the priests in the Last Judgment. Cf. Dupont-Sommer, Writings, p. 112. He is correct in his interpretation of the reference as a judicial one and as one with eschatological implications. This does not rule out the present judicial activity, however, nor the service of the Temple. The Holy Ones may be the elect community.

The Qumran emphasis on the Zadokite priesthood and the Jubilee emphasis on the Levites in general indicates that although their concepts of priestly activity are much alike, their identification of the authentic priesthood differs. On the other hand, a Qumran editor could have assumed that the Zadokites were the ones in whom the purity of the Levitical office was preserved.

These considerations lead us to conclude that vs. 14 should be regarded as the work of R_2.

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[1] There are four different explanations for the specifically cultic role of the Levites in the present form of Jubilees. In xxx, 18-20 it results from the zeal of Levi and Simeon in avenging their sister Dinah. In xxxi, 15d it is the result of a patriarchal blessing spoken under prophetic influence. In xxxii, 1 Levi is ordained in a dream vision. In xxxii, 3 he is designated as belonging to the Lord since he is the tenth child of Jacob.

The incident in xxx, 18-20 is not basically a glorification of the priesthood, but an illustration of the reward for zealousness for the covenant and Israelite purity. It is in a unit which is concerned about intermarriage between Israelites and Gentiles.

In xxxi, 15d the cultic function of blessing is bestowed by the blessing of Isaac. It is an aspect of the role of the Levites as *judges, princes, and chiefs*. The point here is explicitly how the Levites came to their assigned role. Sacrificial activity is not included once we remove vs. 14 from its present place of antecedence.

Jub. xxxii, 1b is a version of the tradition found also in T.Lev. viii. In the latter, the scene is more detailed. The *they* of the Jubilees account are seven figures in the Testaments version. The Jubilees verse is roughly constructed, however, with the end of the preceding unit (Jub. xxxi) concluded by the sentence at xxxii, 1a. The account of Levi's selection as the tenth child of Jacob begins at xxxii, 2. Either A or someone prior to him molded three traditions into one.

Finally xxxii, 3 explains the Levitical role as the result of Levi's place as Jacob's tenth son, but in the present context the immediate concern is the law of the tithe, not the origin of the priesthood. The narrative of xxxii, 2ff has been skillfully related to what precedes. Jacob's tithes are a response to the blessing Isaac spoke upon Levi and Judah, and both the dream vision and the indication that Levi is the tenth son may be seen as realizations of the blessing in ch. xxxi. The real concern of xxxii, 2-15, however, is the law of the tithe, which faithful Israelites must obey.

[2] Charles translated *makuanenta* and *mashêfneta* (vs. 15a) --which I have translated *judges* and *princes*, respectively --*princes* and *judges*, respectively. Cf. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 60. In the Ethiopic translation of the Old

Vs. 15b-c indicates the Levitical role to be closely tied to Torah. They are to be the interpreters of God's will to the community. Many problems complicate the study of the history of the Levitical priesthood, but it is clear that in the pre-exilic period the priestly role was broader in scope than the term *priest* commonly suggests. The

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Testament a form of *makuanen* is used to translate the various forms of the Hebrew *shôfêt* (Ex. ii, 14; Deut. xvii, 9, 12), *môshel* (Jer. xxii, 30), *sarim* (Ecc. x, 7), *nagidh* (I Sam. xxv, 30), and *nasi* (Ezek. xlvi, 2). In the LXX at those places where the Hebrew is *shôfêt*, the Greek is *kritên*, except for Ex. ii, 14 where it is *dikastên*.

In the Apocrypha *makuanen* translates forms of *kritên* (Eccus. vii, 6; viii, 14; xli, 18; xlvi, 11), *dikastai* (Wis. vi, 11), and *archon* (Jud. viii, 11).

On the other hand, forms of *mashfen* are used in the Old Testament to translate forms of the Hebrew *nasi* (Gen. xxv, 16; LXX, *archon*), *alûf* (Gen. xxxvi, 15; I Chron. i, 51; LXX, *hêgeman*), and *shôfêt* (Judg. *passim*; Ru. i, 1; I Ki. xxiii, 22; LXX, *kritên*).

It is obvious that the two words frequently are synonymous. Dillmann's first definition of *makuanen* is *judge*, and in the canon *makuanen* most often is related to the Hebrew *shôfêt*. I have so translated it. Cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, p. 856. Ultimately, precise definitions must be based on the context of all three words in the blessing. Together, and in the context of the elaborations, they reflect judicial and executive authority. Military authority may be implied, but if so, it is the result of their executive direction, rather than direct engagement in battle. In favor of some military implications is the reference to the Levites in Jub. xxx. The priestly role may originally have been the result of their reputation as warriors in the struggle against Baal. This would help explain why the holy war ideal was kept alive in Levitical circles. On the Levites and the holy war cf. Gerhard Von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (Chicago: Henry Regnery and Company, 1953), p. 66.

designation of the Levites as judges, princes, and chiefs is not foreign to Israel's past, but is an elaboration of the biblically defined role.[1] The author of the blessing is basically a theocrat. God directs the nation through the priests.[1]

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[1] In Deut. xvii, 8-13, priest and judge together decide cases of everything from assault and homocide downward. In Deut. xxxiii, 8, they are to use the Thummim and Urim. The tasks of teaching Israel those things which make for proper living (mishpatim) and delivering the instructions of God (torah) are mentioned in these verses even ahead of the liturgical responsibilities.

In Mic. iii, 11 the Levites are mentioned as teachers, in Hos. iv, 1-6 they are excoriated for failing to guide the people in paths of knowledge (a double entendre using knowledge both as intellectual acquaintance and as faithfulness), and in Jer. xviii, 18 the prophet's enemies assume that the priest is an interpreter of Torah.

The preaching role of the Levites may be implied in Jub. xxxi, 15c. On the preaching aspect of the Levitical office cf. Gerhard von Rad, "The Levitical Sermon in I and II Chronicles," The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 267-280.

At Qumran also the priests served a judicial role. They were to be "an (eternal) light (to illumine) the world with knowledge and to enlighten the face of the Congregation (with Wisdom)." The Blessings IV, Cf. Vermes, op. cit., p. 208. Primarily, all that we can say is that this shows that both the Qumran community and the author of the Jubilees passage both were reasserting the broader functions of the priests performed in the pre-exilic period.

The use of the first person possessive pronoun in Jub. xxxi, 15c shows that this blessing originally was not spoken by a human, but by God. From this we see the way the poem has been constructed from various fragments.

Speaking God's word in this verse may include the type of curse portrayed in Deut. xxvii, 14-26.

A good summary of the standard view of the priesthood since Wellhausen and of the rethinking later done toward this view is R. Abba, "Priests and Levites," IDB, Vol. 3, pp. 876-889. Cf. also the excellent discussion by DeVaux in Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions, trans. John McHugh (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961), pp. 358-371.

Charles interpreted all of vs. 15 as a direct reference to the Maccabean princes after the office of high priest had passed into their hands.[2] Since the picture of the Levites here agrees with the various elements of Israelite tradition, however, the verse could have developed at any time. This is liturgical tradition which grew up during some indeterminable period.

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[1] Further evidence of A's emphasis on the Levites as interpreters of Torah may be seen in Jub. xlv, 16. Jacob gave "all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi... that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day." The books undoubtedly contain not only the secrets of medicine given to Noah, and given to Shem by Noah (Jub. x, 13-14), but also the information given to Moses on Sinai--the information upon which the angelic discourse is based. Moses' eligibility to receive the revelation was his Levitical descent. The renewal mentioned is the proclamation and instruction for which the Levites are responsible in each generation.

[2] He referred to Josephus' words concerning the threefold nature of John Hyrcanus' work--prophet, priest, and king--and sees T. Lev. viii as a direct reference to Hyrcanus, written with the help of either Jubilees or a common tradition. Cf. Josephus, Antiquities XIII, x, 7; Charles, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 60, 308-309.

Charles thought the verse to refer to the high priest. Levi, however, is the father of the entire priesthood. All Levites are objects of blessing. It is rather surprising that nowhere in the book is there a mention of a high priest. The office may have been so accepted in the envisioned system that it did not occur to the author to mention him. All the priestly offices may have been understood functionally, not in terms of status. The omission of the high priestly figure may even have been a polemic of silence. The author may have seen the office as so corrupt that he wished to fight it by ignoring it. Certainly, he has indicated the importance of the priesthood as such, whatever else he had in mind.

Charles' dating of the entire chapter relied upon it being a description of fact. He interpreted it as a description of the Hasmonean rulers. It could just as easily be a description of what the author thinks ought to be and shall be, especially when vs. 14 is removed.

Leah's words in Gen. xxix, 34 have now been applied to Levi's relation to God. He will be joined to the Lord, with access to the Temple offerings as his means of livelihood (vs. 16cd), a practice reflected also in Deut. xii, 6-7, 11-12, 17-19; xviii, 1-5. The passage emphasizes the readers' responsibility for the livelihood of the priests and justifies the use of Temple tithes by the Levites. Moreover, this is not an arrangement that is going to cease with any future change of Israel's condition, but one that will continue throughout the ages (vs. 16d).

Vs. 17a continues the blessing, but it takes on the content of a curse on Levi's enemies. It does not contain the traditional cursed be..., but its effect is the same. We need not look for the specific objects of the curse. This is a standard expression of such liturgies. It is aimed at all opponents in general. No doubt, many objected, for one reason or another, to a Levite-centered theocracy, and this comment would take care of any and all of them. Moreover, that the role of Levi is the role willed by God means that to oppose Levi is to oppose God!

A traditional blessing and curse (vs. 17b; cf. Gen. xii, 3; xxvii, 19; Nu. xxiv, 9) close the blessing proper. Such an expression has been preserved in both canonical and extra-canonical traditions and may be adapted to numerous situations. The nations stand or fall on the basis of their attitude toward Levi. The author of the discourse, however, knows that there will be none to stand. All--by their very practices--are in opposition to Levi.

2. The blessing of Judah (vss. 18-20)

The Judah passage is not introduced with a blessing, but with an expansion of a blessing. The blessing is understood. The emphasis is on Judah's military power.

Vs. 18b continues the blessing, but in vss. 18c-20b we have prophecy appropriated to blessing, forecasting what will be. The entire blessing refers to the Judah tribe, not merely to an individual.[1] Charles recognized vs. 18d as a reference to the nation, but his determination to find a messiah kept him from questioning the editorial nature of the reference to one of Judah's sons.[2]

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[1] Judah, of course, was the name by which the southern kingdom was known after the division of the monarchy. The passage, therefore, concerns the Jewish state of A's day and its future as he envisioned it. When the enemies of Judah are conquered, and Jewish power has been restored, there will be peace for the people of God.

[2] Charles, Jubilees, p. 188.

The proper translation of makuanen (vs. 18c), already used to describe Levi (vs. 15a), is problematic. Charles translated it judge. We have seen justification for this in vs. 15a. In vs. 18 the images used to describe Judah reflect military prowess. The same is true in vss. 19-20. When Judah sits supreme over the nations, all her enemies will have been crushed and Israel will know great peace. In view of this, the Hebrew at this point must have been shofet. The Judah tribe will be the tribe by whom the enemies of Israel are defeated, just as they were defeated by the judges of old. Judah's role is not that of the absolute monarch, but one which comes as the gift of God. He has neither taken it nor earned it. It has been intended all along through the strength and power which the Lord gives (vs. 18b).

The attempts to identify one of your sons have varied in their results.[1] The present state of the text has been

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[1] Charles thought it refers to a temporary messianic figure. The difficulty, as Charles himself noted, is that nowhere in the book is there a reference to a temporary messianic reign, nor is there an enduring messianic reign. Cf. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 61.

Brownlee speaks of the Judah figure as messianic, but goes no further. William H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament--II," NTS, III (1956-57), p. 197. Gray thinks Jubilees speaks of two messiahs. Cecil P. Gray, The Messianic Hope in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature, Ph. D. Thesis (Nashville: Vanderbilt University, 1959), p. 215. Noack thinks there is a hint of two messiahs, but says this doesn't mean the edited, however, perhaps as a glorification of one of the Maccabean warriors, perhaps under the influence of messianic expectations, or perhaps in an attempt to justify the church's teaching about Jesus, by the addition of one of.[1]

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author was looking for the same kind of figures as are in the Qumran literature. He interprets the reference here to mean that a messiah ben David hope is still alive. Bent Noach, "Qumran and the Book of Jubilees," SEA XXII-XXIII (1957-58), p. 201. Leslie Fuller thought the reference to be to a messiah from Judah for whom John Hyrcanus was expected to prepare the way. Leslie Fuller, "Intertestamental Religion," Abingdon Bible Commentary, ed. Frederick Eiselen et. al. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1929), p. 209. Also interpreting the figure as a messiah from Judah have been Rowley, Relevance, p. 66; Mowinckel, He That Cometh p. 287; and Martin, op. cit., p. 533. Zeitlin, on the other hand, thinks the reference has nothing to do with a messiah and suggests that we have the same kind of idea found in Gen. xlix, 8-12. Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 23. Dean and Matthews both reject any idea of a personal messiah in Jubilees, while Testuz and Box think the words are specific references to David. Dean, Pseudepigrapha: An Account of Certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1891), p. 229; Shailer Matthews, "Apocalyptic Literature," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings et. al. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 40; Testuz, op. cit., p. 68; Box, quoted in Zeitlin, op. cit., p. 23. Leszynsky saw it as a reference to Judas. R. Leszynsky, Die Sadduzaer (Berlin: Mayer und Müller, 1912), pp. 225-226.

[1] The blessing begins as a tribal blessing and continues as such, excepting this phrase. In vs. 18d the emphasis is on the name of all Judah's sons, and to insert one of in the preceding line spoils the parallelism. It should read:

> Judge shall you be, you and your sons,
> over the sons of Jacob.
> May your name, and the name of your sons, go forth
> and traverse every land and region.

The help of Jacob and the deliverance of Israel which are to be found in Judah (vs. 19) and the peace for all the sons of the beloved (vs. 20b) may anticipate the restoration of the twelve tribes. More likely, it is a reference to Judah as the remaining tribe, in whom the remnants of the tribes find the fulfillment of their destiny. Judah, as judge, is the guardian of Israelite identity.[1]

The Judah passage closes with a blessing and a curse similar to that in the Levi blessing. Although the verses originally may have been in a less deterministic context, here they justify the eventual rooting out of the Gentiles. Gentiles who bless Judah might be blessed--*if* they indeed were to bless Judah. A knows they do not!

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[1] Charles translated vs. 19 in terms of *salvation*. We cannot tell what he understood the word to mean. In light of the connotations that salvation has taken on in terms of one's life beyond the grave, however, it is better to speak of *deliverance*, for the reference obviously is a military one.

There are two passages in The Testament of Judah which reflect a picture of Judah similar to this one and indicate that such a concept was not held by A alone.

> ...And I wound my garments on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled....And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore, my father was free from anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision (concerning me) that an angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome. (iii, 6, 8-10)

> ...And the Canaanites feared me and my brethren. (vii, 10)

3. Conclusions

The blessing of Levi is a justification of and insistence upon the role of the Levites as the figures of authority in the community. They exercise authority by interpretation of the will of God in Torah. Not only is the version of Torah advocated by the discourse rooted in history; the role of the Levites as interpreters of Torah also is rooted there.

The emphasis on the Levites as interpreters of Torah in the original discourse has been altered by the addition of vs. 14. Originally, the discourse gave the sacrificial activity equal weight with the instructional, executive activity. As the passage now stands, however, the chief aspect of their rulership is their Temple activity.

This says more, however, than simply how the Levites are understood. Since they exercise community rule, and their primary activity is in the Temple, the community itself now has come to be understood as a sacramental community.

The purpose of the blessing of Judah is to show that Judah's existence as the remnant and her role as the tribe in whom the fragments of the other tribes find their continued life is the will of God. It too is rooted in a blessing by an ancestor, acting under the spirit of prophecy. Judah is Israel as A knew it and as he anticipated it. His primary interest in the blessing was Levi, but the Judah blessing was of great significance for him also. In terms of the purpose of the discourse, it is yet another instance of God's graciousness to Israel, thereby serving to call forth thankful obedience to God through Torah.

The blessings concern both tribes. Consequently, any reading of an individual messianic figure into either blessing as it originally appeared in the discourse is out of the question. Neither is it eschatological in function. Yet eschatological presuppositions abound. The new age will be an age in which Judah is glorified as the ruler of the world, and the Levites will exercise authority in that glorified Judah.

H. xxxvi, 1-18

This narrative is the product of the uniting of a last will and testament scene[1] and a set of commands, as was xxii, 1-xxiii, 1. The function of the command for brotherly love at one time must have referred to fellow Israelites. It was added to the Jacob-Esau narrative as an attach upon the Edomites.[1] To the general attack A has

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[1] The form for the testimony includes a meal of celebration (xxii, 4-6; xxxvi, 17), the bestowal of family property (xxii, 24; xxxvi, 12), the family blessing (xxii, 10; xxxvi, 15-16), and the closing formula, and he ceased commanding him/them and blessing him/them. This probably reflects a common ancient tradition for the bestowing of the family birthright and property on the heir or heirs. The interpretation of tze-vah as commandment, however,

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has resulted in the addition of commandments in both narratives mentioned. The double use of the word may itself be quite old. It referred to a man setting his house in order when he was about to die, at least as early as the time of the writing of the Deuteronomic history (II Sam. xvii, 23; II Kg. xx, 1). The fatherly advice and even orders would be quite understandable as the act of a man turning over the family reins to his son.

The testimony narrative is in vss. 1-2, 12-17. It has served as the context for laws concerning faithfulness to God (vss. 3, 7), brother love (vss. 4, 8), and idolatry (vss. 5-6), and for a statement about the penalty for failing to love your brother (vss. 9-11). The first recitation of the commands is introduced with, *And this I command you* (vs. 3). The second recitation opens with, *And now I shall make you swear a great oath* (vs. 7). These are different forms. The words *and concerning the question of idols* (vs. 5) introduce the idolatry commandment as a new subject.

The penalty in vs. 9 for the failure to practice brotherly love is a penalty whose time is indefinite. It has been interpreted by the addition of vs. 10 as a penalty in ongoing history. The conjunction *and* indicates a penalty additional to what already has been said.

[1] Vs. 4 is a positive statement. Vss. 8-9 speak of those who do evil against the brother, drawing the positive command specifically to the Edomite context.

An important question concerning xxxvi, 1-18 is its relation to the war between Jacob and Esau in xxxvii, 1-xxxviii, 14. That struggle might easily be seen as a celebration of the Maccabean victories over the Edomites mentioned in I Macc. v, 3, 65. Charles thought that xxxviii, 14 is a reflection of the victory of John Hyrcanus. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha,* p. 69. John forced them to become circumcised, however, and in a book so concerned with circumcision at least some comment certainly would have been made, even if the narrative were added by an editor.

The evidence points to it being an addition by R$_1$. The words *These are the generations of Jacob* (xxxix, 2) added a word about what will happen to them on the day of judgment. The addition of this eschatological comment to the unit does not make the unit itself eschatological. Indeed, the purpose of the addition itself is not to teach about the day of judgment, but to tell what is in store for the Edomites. Thus, it is another example of his anti-Gentile attitude, but here--as in xxiv, 28, 30-32--it is manifested in terms of specific ancient foes of Israel.

The description of what is in store for the Edomites seems at first contradictory. They are to be destroyed

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make no sense in their present location. They are followed by a continuation of the Joseph story. It fits logically after xxxiv, 20-21, where Jacob's daughters-in-law are named. In the tradition in which the author of the discourse found this material the latter probably immediately preceded the former. The author separated them in order to weave them into the narrative created by a similar process in xxxv-xxxvi. Thus, in the angelic discourse, xxxix, 2 originally followed xxxvi, 19-24 events surrounding Esau's settlement in Edom and Jacob's settlement in Hebron. xxxvii, 1-xxxviii, 15 was added to celebrate those wars, added most likely by R_1, in light of his view of the Maccabees as the instruments of God.

Supporting this view of the unit on the Jacob-Esau war as a later addition to the discourse is the way it begins. The usual dating as we have come to expect it from A is not present.

The passage in xxxvi, 1-18, then, originally was not connected with xxxvii, 1-xxxviii, 15 and need not be understood in terms of the Maccabean wars. This agrees with the analysis of xxxvi, 1-18 made previously on the basis of an internal examination of the history of those verses.

The Israelite-Edomite struggles go far back in time. The most famous incident, of course, was the Edomite plunder of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. Cf. S. Cohen, "Edom," IDB, Vol. II, p. 26. The association of the command with the narrative could have been made at almost any time.

(vs. 10), but their condemnation is to be renewed with plagues, disease, etc. forever (vs. 11). Vs. 11, however, is best understood as a barrage of words indicating the severity of Edom's plight rather than as a blueprint to what will happen to her. In such passages concerning the plight of the enemy, emotions usually are oblivious to strict logic.[1]

I. 1, 1-5

Jub. 1 closes the angel's discourse to Moses on the mountain. Up to this point, the angel has been dictating for Moses to write, and this discourse now ends at vs. 5. In vss. 6-13, we find a unit of commandments which the angel himself is said to have written for Moses.[2]

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[1] The references to execration and to the renewal of their condemnation may indicate that A knew of an execration ceremony in which the enemies of the nation were cast out. The reference to casting out one's name in Lk. vi, 22 also points to the possibility of such a ceremony.

[2] As the exegesis of the passage shows, i, 4-28 is later than the discourse. 1, 6-13 and i, 27-28 both portray the angel writing for Moses, rather than dictating to Moses. They both may have been added by the same person. The addition of Sabbath commandments to 1, 1-5 is by no means surprising, for in vss. 1-5 there is a great emphasis on the sabbaths of the land. Some editor has used this as an occasion to mention the weekly Sabbath. He was following a common practice of associating the Sabbath with eschatology. The author of Hebrews made eschatological use of Ps. xcv, 7-11 to interpret the entry into Canaan as a symbol for life under the reign of God. The use of rest as a symbol for salvation and the use of Ps. xcv in the

The function of vss. 1-5 is to close the discourse with an exhortation to follow the jubilee calendar and to observe all its events. As we shall see, the discourse originally ended with vs. 4. The eschatological promise in vs. 5 was added by R_1, but it still functions within the purpose of the complete five verses.

This law, after which we are told Moses was told of the days of the sabbaths (vs. 1) and the sabbaths of the land (vs. 2), is the command to observe Passover (ch. xlix). A has been meticulous in his use of scripture at this point in the narrative, for in Lev. xxiii the days of the sabbaths--i.e., the various appointed feasts of Yahweh--are revealed in the Tent of Meeting in the desert,[1] and the sabbaths of the land are revealed later on Sinai (Lev. xxv).[2]

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synagogue liturgy for the Sabbath indicates this to be a common association. Cf. J.W. Bowman, Hebrews, II Peter (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 32.

[1] Charles pointed out that in Jubilees at this point Sinai is a corruption of Sin (vs. 1). Charles, Pseudepigrapha, p. 81.

[2] Lev. xxv, 8-17 is the biblical origin for the concept of a jubilee. There, a jubilee is the fiftieth year, after seven periods of seven years have passed. It is a year of release and renewal. In the angelic discourse the jubilee is a measurement of time intended to provide correct observation of special days and seasons. It is a forty-nine year period. When A returns to his biblical sources, he moves to the Levitical understanding of the jubilee as a specific year (1, 2-3), but in his comment on the reason

The Hebrew text for vs. 3 undoubtedly contained a jussive, which the Greek translators read as a regular imperfect. Translating the verbs in this way provides a coherent sequence in which the reminder of the special days and seasons is followed by the command to observe them. The purpose of the angelic discourse has been to teach Torah. Vs. 4 then adds the comment that it was precisely to enable Israel to follow the jubilee scheme of things that the calendar was given.

The reference to the entry into Palestine fits the situation of Israel when Torah was given, of course, but it also serves an eschatological purpose.[1] Testuz has suggested that the verse indicates the amount of time for learning Torah before the establishment of the kingdom.[2]

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for the computation he again speaks in terms of a forty-nine year period (vs. 4). The tension thus created does not necessitate our viewing vss. 2-3 as an addition by an editor. It merely is the result of the way that the author roots his practices in canonical tradition. The tradition serves as a vehicle for his own views, and sometimes tensions such as these are produced.

[1] The eschatological use of the entry into Palestine may be seen in Hebrews iii, 7-iv, 10 and lies behind the way Matthew describes the early events in Jesus' life. The forty days and forty nights of testing in the wilderness and the instruction on the mountain (Mt. iv, 1-11; v-vii) reflect the early days of Israel's life as they prepared to enter the Promised Land. The exodus motif in Is. xl-lv does the same, for the destination of the ex-captives is the restored Promised Land.

[2] Testuz, op. cit., p. 169.

He convincingly argues that the author counted twenty-two jubilees as the length of time from the exodus to the new creation.[1] In light of the seriousness with which A took the calendar, we would be ill-advised to interpret the forty years as a round figure to mean a generation. He believed that in forty years God's decisive acts would take place. He ingeniously combined the traditional forty years in the wilderness with his calendar calculations to assign the end of the wilderness wanderings to the end of a jubilee. He may also have intended the overtones which quickly come to mind: the presence of the hellenists is the time of wilderness testing.

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[1] Testuz, op. cit., p. 174. According to Testuz, the author viewed the world in three eras--the era of Testimony, which began with the creation; the era of the Law, which began with the giving of the Law on Sinai; and the new age, which begins with the Messianic era, the time for the study of the Law. Ibid., p. 168. The author saw the proclamation of the Law as it is found in Jubilees as the beginning of a new era. In the original edition of Jubilees there was little detail of eschatology, for such things were reserved for the instructors of the sect, the hierarchy. Ibid., p. 175.

Testuz believes the jubilee scheme of history gives the clue to the author's understanding of his own day. As Testuz himself points out, however, it is rather difficult to see the period from Sinai to the Maccabean era as in any way a jubilee of jubilees. We do not know how many years the author of the original work conceived the second era to be, but there is an intriguing possibility. Jacob was twenty-second patriarch of mankind (ii, 23), the Sabbath was the twenty-second work of the creation (ii, 23), the day of the Holy Kingdom (l, 9). Twenty-one jubilees would be 1029 years, which, says Testuz, agrees well enough with the biblical narrative as to the time from the exodus to the Maccabean revolt. Cf. Ibid., p. 173.

There are difficulties with Testuz' argument. Rowley has pointed out that ancient Jewish writers show little exact knowledge of the whole Persian period. Consequently, such time references are inexact. Cf. H.H. Rowley, "The History of the Qumran Sect," BJRL, XLIX (1966), p. 218. For another thing, the reference to the day of the Holy Kingdom is in a unit of commandments added later to the discourse. A, however, may have assumed that by its very nature, calculations based upon his calendar were accurate. Moreover, the argument does not finally depend upon the reference to the Sabbath as the day of the Kingdom.

Vs. 5 anticipates the cleansing of Israel's guilt and uncleanness. Although Lev. xxv, 18b-19 contains a promise of security if the law there is obeyed, we cannot escape the conclusion that l, 5 is the work of R_1. The angelic discourse ended originally with vs. 4.[1] The addition speaks quite well to the concerns of the angelic discourse, which has made it clear that a crucial factor in the day of judgment is the expulsion and destruction of all Gentiles and apostates. The addition at vs. 5 anticipates the expulsion of everything that renders the land unclean.[2]

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[1] If vs. 5 is removed, the reference to the Promised Land emphasizes the time remaining for learning Torah. The addition of vs. 5 turns it into a promise that in only forty years the Promised Land will be reached.

Vss. 4-5 read quite well together. There is nothing jarring in the transition from one to the other. Vs. 5, however, is an example of the hermeneutical method we have seen in R_1, rather than that of A. On the other hand, vss. 1-4 [1]reflect the method we have come to expect from A. Certainly, both men would have access to Lev. xxv.

[2] The Ethiopic cognate for satan (vs. 5) should not be understood here as a proper name, but as the kind of adversaries noted throughout Jubilees, Gentiles of all backgrounds. R_1 knew them primarily as the Seleucids.

Vs. 2b is an intrusion into the angel's command to Moses. It was made by someone who understood the word told in vs. 2a in terms of prognostication, rather than in terms of command, which is what it really means. Such an interpretation of told might easily come from someone familiar with the second edition of the book. On the literal level, it says that the angel did not tell Moses the precise year in which Israel would enter the Promised Land. Whoever inserted the clause must have intended it to discourage the reader from using the calendar for precisely the kind of speculation for which A intended it to be used. The most logical reason for such an addition would be if forty years had passed and someone wished to preserve the authority of the book, despite its mistaken time table.

There is little content to vss. 4 and 5 to enable us to characterize their eschatology. In vs. 4, there is the apocalyptic assumption that history operates according to a blueprint. The same is true in vs. 5. Vs. 5 may also be described as prophetic in the sense that history will continue and that the Gentiles will be driven from the land. Both verses are legalistic in that Torah is the mark of one's ability to enter the new age.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Book of Jubilees has a more complex history than previously was suspected. Consequently, we must speak of the eschatology of each stratum of the book. Many of our conclusions already have been stated, but now we shall set them forth in a more orderly manner.

A. The Eschatology of the Strata

1. The angelic discourse (A)

In the angelic discourse, there are no units whose function is to teach eschatological doctrine or to present an eschatological point of view. On the other hand, eschatological presuppositions frequently appear. An examination of these passages reveals the eschatological outlook of A to have been individualistic, both nationalistic and individualistic, and though basically apocalyptic, to have contained a certain degree of expectation which can only be called prophetic.

It is legalistic in that the basis of judgment for Israel is essentially their attitude toward Torah. Moreover, one cannot escape the feeling that although it is never explicitly said, a major aspect of Gentile corruption, as A saw it, was their life apart from Torah. They were not among the circumcised! Whoever walks in the way of the Gentiles will be destroyed.[1]

The eschatology of the discourse is nationalistic in that Israel alone eventually will survive and be triumphant in the world, while the Gentiles will be judged for the way they have harassed and bothered the people of God.[2] Judah is the remnant in whom the promises to the ancestors will find fulfillment. In her triumph, Israel will be triumphant.[3] The nation will be led by the Levites, the divinely appointed rulers whose office is established to last forever.[4]

The individualism of the discourse is seen in its insistence that each man will be judged. The unfaithful Israelites will no more be spared than will the Gentiles.[5] The absence of any reference to the day of judgment is due to the author's purpose. He was not drawing a blueprint of the future, but was making an existential address to his readers. It was the fact of judgment, rather than its details, that was important for his purpose.

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[1] Cf. p. 88.

[2] Cf. p. 97.

[3] Cf. pp. 110-112.

[4] Cf. p. 101.

[5] Cf. p. 83.

The discourse contains elements of both apocalyptic and prophetic eschatology. The helplessness of the nations before the demons[1] is apocalyptic, as is the fixity of the events of history. The latter is indicated by the author's comment that there are forty years for learning Torah.[2] The emphasis on the defeat of the nations, however, is prophetic. Even though the demons drive the nations to destruction, Israel's real enemies are those nations, not the angels that drive them.

As already mentioned, A has given little clue to the nature of the great judgment. The story of the judgment on the Watchers served as a prototype of the judgment to come,[3] but the judgment by fire and sword,[4] tells us practically nothing. Whether the heavenly hosts will come to seek out and destroy, or whether some other method will be used, we simply are not told. Again, the fact of judgment, not its details, concerned A.

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[1] Cf. pp. 84-85n.

[2] Cf. pp. 118-119. This also is supported by the prediction in vi, 37-38 that in time to come, Israelites will be unfaithful.

[3] Cf. p. 82n.

[4] Cf. p. 86.

A's primary hermeneutical method was to show how the stories, blessings, curses, and judgment sayings in the tradition accounted for contemporary conditions and laws and for events yet to occur. The poetry that he has used appears in a context that indicates its aetiological nature. A did not see his own period as the only one affected by these traditions, but he did see his generation as the last before the blessings, curses, and judgments would find ultimate fulfillment. Only one generation was left for learning Torah in preparation for judgment.[1] He hoped by his work to inspire thanksgiving, hope, and even fear, out of which Torah might be obeyed.

2. The first redaction (R_1)

Under the impact of the Maccabean wars, an admirer of the leaders of the anti-Seleucid, anti-apostate resistance forces recast the angelic discourse and produced what was essentially a new work. In additions now found at least at i, 4b-26; xxiii, 14-20, 21-31; and l, 5, this redactor turned the angelic discourse into an eschatological word of hope and judgment. He evaluated the condition of his generation from two perspectives. Their apostasy was seen both as 1) a continuation of the predicament of the exile--

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[1] Cf. pp. 119-121.

a predicament in which the sins of the earlier generations still were bearing fruit[1]--and 2) as the result of their own transgressions upon the earth.[2]

The new work also was a word of hope, for at last--according to R_1--God was about to bring the exile to an end.[3] The day of judgment of which the discourse had spoken was seen to be coming about in the rebellion of the Chasidim and the Maccabean warriors. Vengance was being wrought upon the Gentiles and upon apostate Jews alike. Already, there was evidence that Israel was returning to Torah. R_1's generation, when it confessed its sin and the sin of the fathers, would know peace and the restoration of health. These new conditions were anticipated as continuing indefinitely--so long as history itself continues.

The eschatology of R_1, then, was legalistic, nationalistic, and individualistic, as was that of the discourse author. In fact, all those things we can detect as coming from the hand of R_1 fit the category of prophetic eschatology, with the exception of the reversal of the life span (xxiii, 27-28). Even this, however, is not conceived solely in terms of an apocalyptic, cosmic renewal, but more especially in terms of return to Torah and the benefits which follow.[1] This renewal involves a negation neither of time nor of history. Instead, those who have terrorized Israel will be driven out, so that Israel's time and history may continue in peace for Israel.

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[1] Cf. p. 60.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Cf. pp. 42-43.

R_1's hermeneutical method, however, is apocalyptic. The scriptures and the non-canonical traditions which he has used have been viewed as written and spoken for his particular day. The promises were written for him and for his generation.[2] He has used an apocalyptic hermeneutic, then, to express an eschatological point of view whose content is essentially prophetic.

3. The sanctuary-oriented redaction (R_2)

A second redactoral job was undertaken during the Hasmonean period to emphasize the centrality of the sanctuary in the face of what the editor saw as its desecration. At least at i, 10b, 17a, 27-28, 29c; iv, 26; xxiii, 21; and xxxi, 14 we find evidence of this redactor's work. It may also appear at l, 6-13.[3] R_2 did not change the thrust of the work as he found it to the extent that R_1 had modified the original discourse. Nevertheless, there are significant changes. The book still proclaims the nearness of the new age.[1] The content of his eschatology, however, was somewhat cosmic in orientation, in contrast to his predecessors. He looked for the renewal of the powers of the heavens and of the earth and of all that is within them. To the legalistic, nationalistic, and individualistic outlook of the work as he found it, he has added a portrait of Jerusalem and Zion as the focal points of a cosmic renewal that will spread throughout the creation.[2] In this respect, the content of his eschatology was more apocalyptic than was the content of that of his predecessors.

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[1] Cf. pp. 65-69.

[2] Cf. p. 45.

[3] Cf. p. 117n.

Since we find no comments by R_2 that would lead us to think otherwise, we must assume that he accepted the general thrust of the legalism, nationalism, and individualism of the work as he found it. On the other hand, faithfulness now has to be defined in terms of faithfulness to the Temple, as well as faithfulness to Torah and to the calendar. R_2 has moved the emphasis on the Levites from one of instruction and political leadership to one of cultic responsibility.[1] The latter function does not replace the former, but now gives the Levites their basic identity. The community now is to be understood as a community centered in the cult, not merely in Torah. In fact, the ultimate result is that Torah now is viewed within the context of the cult, rather than vice versa.

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[1] Cf. pp. 53-54.

[2] Ibid.

B. The Perennial Problems Revisited

Our study allows us now to comment briefly on a few of the problems that have confused past attempts to set forth the eschatology of Jubilees. It should first be said that the questions in the past were concerned almost entirely with the content of eschatology. We have seen that this is only one question that must be asked and that a proper understanding of the book demands that the others be asked as well. The two questions with which we have been concerned in addition to that of content have been the hermeneutical method of the various contributors and the function of the passages in which items of eschatological content appear. The result already has been seen to be that the original author worked under the motivation of an eschatological expectation, but did not attempt to teach eschatology.[2] Neither was his hermeneutical method of an apocalyptic type. R_1 also wrote under the impulse of an eschatological expectation. He recast the angelic discourse so that it would perform an eschatological function. R_2, like his predecessors, believed himself to be living near the eschatological period. He saw the goal of the change of things, however, to be focused in the establishment of a purified cult on Zion, and he altered the introduction to the discourse to reflect this. Although he did not change the purpose of R_1's edition, he altered the content of its view of the future. He accepted R_1's basic assumption that the ancient promises were being fulfilled in his day, though he reoriented the picture of the nature of that fulfillment. Basically, then, he accepted R_1's apocalyptic hermeneutic, though he did not have to exercise the method so thoroughly.[1]

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[1] Cf. pp. 103-106.

[2] Cf. pp. 119-121.

Form and redaction criticism help us in cutting through some of the perennial problems of content interpretation by allowing us to see the different strata which have gone into the makeup of Jubilees. This solves the problems of the conflict between a day of judgment and a gradual renewal of things, between the expectation of a new creation and the expectation of destruction of all save faithful Israelites, and of the conflict between passages reflecting different expectations for the wicked dead. We also learn why some things are missing that outght to be in any description of the future. None of the writers were interested in every aspect of the future. Those elements of eschatological teaching which were of concern to them were those relevant to their basic message. This is true even in those passages which are intentionally concerned with some aspect of eschatology. Occasionally, where two concepts seem to contradict each other, one even may be an interpretation of the other, as in the case of the first redactor interpreting the wars of his day as the day of judgment.

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[1] Cf. pp. 27-29.

In the question of messianism, form analysis enables us to see the Judah blessing (xxxi, 18-20) as a tribal blessing and thereby raises the possibility that the reference to one of Judah's sons is a later addition to the tradition. This is supported by the parallelism of the lines. Thus, there not only are not two messiahs in Jubilees; there is not even one.[1]

C. The Message of the Present Edition

The message of the present edition of Jubilees is the message of R_2. Although he has incorporated into his point of view the material of the first two editions, he has presented us with a work distinctly his own. That message may be broken down into four elements: the corruption of the present historical situation, the faithfulness of God, the coming judgment, and the new creation. Because of the diverse strata of the book, this message is not without its tensions, but those tensions are transcended by the unity perceived by R_2.

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[1] Cf. pp. 110-111.

The present situation of the world is one of corruption and sin. Israel has turned from Torah to follow the ways of the Gentiles. The Temple cult has become so corrupted that it no longer is the authentic cult. Israel has forsaken the festivals, the covenant, and God himself.

Despite the unfaithfulness of Israel, however, God has remained faithful. He has called into existence a small group of faithful people who are the hope of Israel. He knew all along that the present situation would develop, so the faithful must not think that they have been forsaken or forgotten. Those who are unfaithful should heed the message of God's faithfulness and confess both their own sins and the sins of their fathers so that they may partake of the future hope that is upon them. This show of God's faithfulness is the true return from exile, but only those who confess their guilt will enjoy that return.

The end of the exile and the coming of a new era involves judgment upon Gentiles and unfaithful Israelites alike. The armies of the faithful within the nation will arise, and with strength from God they will put everyone excepting faithful Israelites to the sword. These armies of faithful wield the sword of the Lord. Earlier, it appeared that the Maccabean warriors were the hope of Israel, but as it turned out, they became corrupted themselves and have defiled even the Holy of Holies. Consequently, there will come an even greater onslaught from the Gentiles. In the battles of this war the faithful will eventually emerge triumphant. All Israel's foes, ancient and modern, will be put to the sword.

The battered and bruised faithful nation then will be restored to health in a renewal as wide as the creation itself. In the victory of Judah, the destiny of Israel will be realized. The Levites will rule over a nation whose true happiness is centered in the Temple on Mt. Zion, in keeping Torah, and in celebrating the festivals of the restored calendar. The hearts of the people will be transformed so that never again will they desire to stray from the covenant. Annually, they will come to Jerusalem to renew the covenant on Mt. Zion in the purified Temple, from which blessings will flow over the entire earth. Men will live out their lives in peace and health, and when they die, they will rest in peace, knowing that God has remembered his promises to Israel, driven out the enemy, vanquished the wicked angels, and established Israel in her glory.

D. Suggestions for Further Study

Much work remains to be done on Jubilees. One thing for which there is a particular need is the publication of the Hebrew texts found at Qumran. Thus far, only a few fragments have been published. We could not be certain that in them we had copies more accurately resembling the originals, but texts from so close a period to the time the book was produced and in the language of the original would be invaluable.

There now should be a new commentary on Jubilees, using the more recent methods available to us. Such a commentary would be of great value to those who deal in the history of late post-exilic Judaism and the history of the early church, for it is one of the texts which supply the raw materials for that period.

There also is a need for thorough study of such books as I Enoch, The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and other apocryphal books using more recent methods than were used in the previous commentaries. Such studies would help us to see more clearly the relation of these works to each other and to the Qumran community, thereby helping us more clearly to understand the relation between various sects of intertestamental Judaism.

This study of Jubilees has shown the need for a full-scale reconsideration of the meaning of apocalyptic. Although the standard distinction between prophetic and apocalyptic eschatology has been followed for this study, the qualifications that have been made on numerous occasions indicate the inadequacy of categories established primarily on the basis of content analysis.

E. A Closing Remark

In Jubilees we have a book whose themes and concerns indicate that during the second century B.C., Old Testament faith was by no means dead. The various circles of Judaism, withstanding the threats of corruption to the ancient faith, sometimes naive as to their own acceptance of certain essentials of the alien culture, were able to rise up against those who threatened and to sound anew the covenant faith in all its promise and demand. In some respects, their outlook was distorted. They lost hope, for instance, that God would someday make a place for both Jew and Gentile in a renewed world as the Old Testament writers had anticipated. This narrowness was brought on, to an extent, by the enemy threat. In certain other respects, however, the author of the discourse and the redactors who followed were solidly in the line of Old Testament faith. They emphasized God's love for Israel and his faithfulness to them, his demand for obedience, his power to do what he promises to do, and his willingness to forgive the repentant.

APPENDIX I

A STATEMENT ON CRITERIA FOR DETECTING STRATA

There are several means of distinguishing the strata of a text that has undergone a process of growth and development. 1) When a narrative has been based partially on a known source and the elements of that narrative which are not based on the known source form a self-contained, coherent narrative, we may assume that the latter originally was a separate narrative. Then, of course, we must ask how each tradition is affected by the synthesis.

2) When passages of poetry manifesting a specific traditional form appear in a prose narrative, we may assume that the poetry has been incorporated into the prose. The task then is to see how the narrative interprets the poetry.

3) Within an extended passage of poetry, introductory formulae may appear at various points. When they do, they indicate that the passage has grown from previous separate traditions. In such a case, we must examine the effect upon each by the new association.

When the speaker, narrator, or audience or the subject of the narrative change abruptly and the shift is unnoticed within the narrative, we may assume that we have encountered a line of separation between either two synthesized traditions or a tradition and an editorial addition.

5) Recurring concerns, vocabulary, or phraseology, when they conflict with other recurring ones, may be used to detect different strata. Similarities may be used to support hypotheses of a single stratum when these hypotheses are proposed on the basis of form analysis or source analysis. We must exercise caution in this approach, however, for the presence of such characteristics may result from a redactor having been influenced by the vocabulary and concerns of the traditions with which he worked.

APPENDIX II

NON-ESCHATOLOGICAL PASSAGES CONTAINING INCIDENTAL ESCHATOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY

There are three units in Jubilees which contain terms traditionally regarded as eschatological subject matter, but which are not themselves eschatological, and in which the terms are not used with eschatological intent. They may reveal aspects of an eschatological point of view or they may not. Since they appear merely as temporal designations, we cannot say. In literature such as Jubilees, stereotyped phrases and terms frequently occur. To use the term day of judgment, for instance, does not bind one to any specific doctrine about that day. It does not bind one to a concept of one day specifically, to a theory of who will exercise judgment, or whether the day is perhaps even figuratively used to refer to an atemporal event.

The one exception to the references considered here not containing specific eschatological content is iv, 26, where there is mention of a new creation. As the analysis of that verse will reveal, however, the unit in which it is found does not have an eschatological function, and since the other references in the unit have no intentional eschatological purpose, it has seemed best to present the entire passage here rather than split it up and deal with one verse in chapter IV and the rest of the passage here.

A. iv, 17-26

Jub. iv, 16-26 is a body of material which grew up around the reference to Enoch in the genealogy of Israel.[1] Verses containing terms traditionally regarded as eschatological are vss. 19, 24, and 26. The unit defies a completely satisfactory analysis as to the relation of each stratum to the other, but there are clues which enable us to trace at least a part of its history.

The form of the genealogy has undergone extensive modification as it now appears in Jubilees. Part of the modification is the work of the author of the discourse; part of it was accomplished before he received it. We may identify at least vss. 16, 20, and some form of 23a as genealogical tradition which A received.[1] At some point, vs. 16 was expanded by vss. 17-18a, which was interpreted, in turn, by A at vs. 18b.[2]

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[1] The place of Enoch as seventh in the line of Adam in Gen. v, 18-24 easily accounts for much of the tradition that later sprang up around him. The role of the number seven in Jubilees--as evidenced in the very nature of a jubilee period, seven times seven years--indicates that the author likely would have been interested in Enoch even had he not found certain additions to the genealogy already present. To those that were present, he added others.

It is outside the scope of our study to go into detail concerning the relation of Enoch to the Sumerian kings list. It seems certain, however, that the characteristics of the seventh king in that list were appropriated to Enoch in Israelite tradition. Cf. Russell, Method, pp. 112-113; Von Rad, Genesis, pp. 69-70.

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[1] The form of the genealogy in Genesis is 1) the birth of a child, 2) dated by the age of the subject, 3) the death of the subject, and 4) his age at death. The child then becomes the subject in the repetition of the form. In Jubilees the form includes 1) the marriage and 2) its date, 3) the name of the wife, 4) the identity of the father-in-law, 5) the birth of a child and 6) its date, and 7) the naming of the child. The child then becomes the subject in the repetition of the form.

The concern of the author of the discourse to date the events of history according to the jubilee calendar leaves little doubt that he is responsible for the present dating system.

The names of the wives and the fathers-in-law were added before the author received the list. These names have no relevance for those concerns which occupied his attention. They hardly seem relevant for his interest in the purity of Israel, for the problem of intermarriage among humans arose only after the flood. The use of the intermarriage between the Watchers and human wives to point out the wickedness of intermarriage (vss. 21-22) is based not on intermarriage among humans, but between divine beings and mortals. On vss. 21-22 cf. pp. 144-145.

The names of the wives and the fathers-in-law are the kind of details that easily might arise to settle curiosity or to supply minute information for those interested in such things. Of course, the specific assignment of certain names might be the result of any of a number of factors, the simple association of two wise men, for example, as in the case of Enoch and Dan-el.

[2] Vs. 18b is an interpretation of Enoch's calendar activity (vs. 17) in terms of the jubilee calendar--i.e., in terms of sabbaths and years--as well as an interpretation of vs. 18a. In the latter instance, it tells what kind of testimony Enoch wrote.

Vss. 17a and 18a are the kind of references found in places such as Gen. iv, 20, 21, and 22, tracing certain elements of culture back to the earliest ancestors. The

Vs. 19 is from R_1. It displays his interest in the past and the future, it adds to what Enoch recounted with regard to the jubilees (vs. 18b) in the same way that his introduction to the discourse enlarges the scope of what was revealed to Moses (i, 4b), and it displays the same understanding of the term testimony that is found in that introduction. In his work at this point, R_1 has retained the motif of Enoch having written a testimony and has enlarged upon it. The testimony included all that will happen till the day of judgment. The day of judgment does not function eschatologically here, but as the temporal limit to the vision. The reference is not intended to draw attention to itself, but to the scope of the vision.[1]

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precise motive for this will differ from one occasion to the next. Vs. 17b interprets all three elements of vs. 17a. Enoch's writing was concerned with the knowledge of the way that time is ordered.

Vs. 18a originally may have been a reference to an early version of what is now I En. xci-civ. As Charles' version of I Enoch shows, the present text is filled with problems of textual arrangements. Cf. Charles, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 260-277. Part of the difficulties might be solved by a form and redaction analysis, though this cannot concern us here.

Had not vs. 18a been attached already to vs. 17 as A received it, it is difficult to see why he would have broken up the reference to the calendar and his interpretation of the calendar by inserting it.

[1] The use of the term day of judgment poses a slight problem in identifying the origin of the passage. R_1 nowhere else used the term, even when speaking of the scope of the angelic discourse. It would be a mistake to read too much into such a stock term, however, especially

The genealogical form resumes at vs. 20, and vss. 21-22 are another addition to that form. They concern Enoch as one who testified to the Watchers, thus adding another example of Enoch's activity in terms of the written testimony motif. The measurement of Enoch's stay in terms of

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in a passage in which an interpretation is not even needed.

The vision to which reference is made probably is the second vision in I En. lxxxiii-xc. That is the only vision of which we have any knowledge which fits the description. That vision ends with the coming of God's new ruler (xc, 37-38), but the narrative in which the vision is enclosed ends with Enoch weeping over the first vision--the vision of the flood (xc, 41-42). Moreover, most of the second vision itself consists of warfare and suffering. The primary mood of the passage is judgment. This might naturally lead R_1 to use the term *day of judgment* without any rigid intention as to content.

That Enoch *saw and understood everything* would be an especially appropriate comment in response to the vision just mentioned. It is a highly symbolic narrative of the history of the world portrayed by the use of bulls, sheep, heifers, foxes, wolves, boars, kites, and all sorts of animals. In fact, the same comment is found in I En. lxxxi, 2. The difficulty is that in that verse, Enoch is referring not to a vision, but to his glimpse of the heavenly tablets. Moreover, I En. lxxx-lxxxi is made up of several pieces of material that have been interpoated into their present location, either as a single body of material or at different times. The tradition now found in I En. lxxxi, 3, however, undoubtedly circulated in some form among those interested in Enoch before it was written in its present location. The expression could easily be borrowed from another context for the vision reference.

In its present form, the vision in I En. lxxxiii-xc is best dated sometime during the Maccabean wars. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 170-171; Rowley, *Relevance*, pp. 63-64. This places it during the time that R_1 worked. He could have had access to it in its present form, or he may have known an earlier version.

jubilees points to A as the one responsible for the present form of vs. 21.[1]

Vs. 22b is an interpretive remark, pointing out that the specific nature of the Watchers' sin was intermarriage with human females. It makes it clear that the testimony was against them. This interpretive remark fits quite will A's concern that the Israelites not marry non-Israelites. By implication, he has interpreted the sin of the Watchers as analogous to Israelite marriage to non-Israelites. The function of the passage in the discourse is to warn that such intermarriage is defilement.[2]

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[1] In addition to our knowledge of the content of the genealogy based on our knowledge of Genesis as a source, the word moreover helps us to see vs. 21 as the beginning of a new segment of material. This word is an introduction of a rather common sort.

There is a slight problem with the time reference, these six jubilees of years. It not only has no antecedent, but neither can it be reconciled with vs. 20. This could mean that vs. 21 has been interpolated without modification from some source also concerned with jubilee periods and that the phrase originally had a clear antecedent. It is more likely that the text has been corrupted in transmission or translation and that it originally read six years of this jubilee.

[2] Although we can see that A has modified a summary statement about Enoch's activity in vs. 21 and in vs. 22, it is impossible to tell whether a form of vs. 21 already was a part of the tradition as he received it, or whether he produced vss. 21-22 and added them to vs. 20. All we can say is that whether he found some such tradition already connected to the genealogy or added it himself, he adapted it for his own purposes.

In Jub. vii, 39 specific note is taken, in a comment that can hardly be from other than A, that Enoch was

In vss. 23-24 we have a further example of Enoch's activity in terms of the written testimony. He is the heavenly record keeper who records men's deeds. Vs. 23a is an interpretation of Gen. v, 24.[1] A's hand may be detected at vs. 24a. The flood is cited as proof that God does indeed deal with men on the basis of their wickedness, as Enoch records it. Vss. 23b, 24b--into which the interpretive vs. 24a has been inserted--however, is itself additional material explaining what Enoch does in Eden.[2] Thus,

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seventh in his generation. This indicates that A might be interested enough in Enoch to add material such as that in the present passage, but it in no way proves that he did.

[1] In Jewish lore of the intertestamental period, Eden, for all practical purposes, was identified with Paradise. It was the place where the faithful go at death. It is only natural that this interpretation of where Enoch went would arise, for his faithfulness and piety are indicated in Gen. v, 22. He walked with God. For a good survey of Jewish ideas about Eden, cf. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, Hebrew Myths (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 70-75.

[2] That the interpretation has been added to vs. 23a, rather than having been a simple continuation of vs. 23a from the very beginning, is indicated not only by the introductory formula And take note, but by the shift of emphasis, as well. Vs. 23a emphasizes the arrival of Enoch the reighteous man in honor and glory. It is a biographical comment. In vss. 23b-24, the emphasis has been placed on the records of men's wickedness that are kept by Enoch in preparation for the day of judgment.

Since Gen. v, 24 was a part of the tradition upon which A drew, a reference to Enoch's translation is to be expected. Whether A has supplied the interpretation of Enoch's destination is impossible to say. At least, he has supplied the pronoun we in order to keep the description in the terms of the angelic discourse.

what originally was a reference to Enoch's translation has become first a reference to his activity as divine record keeper and then an occasion for warning about God's judgment on wickedness.[1]

The function of those terms in vss. 19 and 24 that traditionally are understood as eschatological subject matter, then, is not eschatological at all. In vs. 19 the day of judgment is the temporal limit of Enoch's vision. The emphasis is on the scope of the vision, not its end. In vs. 24, the reference to the day of condemnation also functions as a temporal designation. Judgment will continue against men so long as the present world order continues.[2]

Vss. 25-26 portray Enoch as the heavenly high priest, whose sacrifices in Eden accomplish the renewal of the earth. Vs. 26 has been attached to vs. 25 as an expository comment. Its purpose is not so much to interpret vs. 25 as to expound upon Zion. The references to *the sanctuary* and *the Mount* (vs. 25), and even to Eden (vs. 23), have been his point of departure. The reference to the new creation does not function here as the subject matter for an eschatological discourse. We are told nothing of the nature of the new creation, excepting that the earth will be sanctified from guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the earth. Even this, however, is primarily concerned with the glorification of Zion.[1] Since Zion is the mountain on which the Temple stood, this verse should be regarded as an addition by R_2.

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[1] The Enoch tradition reflected in these Jubilee verses became, in some circles, the kind of tradition found in I En. lxx-lxxi. In the latter passage, Enoch is glorified and translated into the Son of Man. Charles refused to translate the Ethiopic in these verses of I Enoch as they stand, a refusal based on bias, rather than on scholarship. For a good summary of the problem of the Son of Man in I Enoch, cf. Russell, Method, pp. 324-352.

[2] The anticipation of vss. 23b, 24b is that there will be a day of condemnation. Enoch records the deeds that will be brought forth as evidence on that day. By his reference to the flood, however, the author has emphasized judgment as something which comes even before that day.

Vs. 25, without the addition of vs. 26, describes an activity of Enoch known nowhere else in the sources available to us from the pre-Christian centuries.[2] Enoch is the heavenly intercessor before God. Odeberg's comment about the divine potency of the first man as the motif underlying vs. 23[1] also pertains here. Enoch's sacrifices are beneficial for men on earth. To put it another way, life is not hopeless, for we have a mediator in the heavenly realm.

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[1] The sentence does not begin with *in it*--meaning in the new creation--but *through it*--meaning Zion. The third person singular of the verb *sanctified*, in the next to the last sentence of vs. 26, shows that it is the predicate for *Mount Zion* only.

The importance of the other mountains is fairly clear. Eden is the spot of creation and the place where Enoch now sits. That it is *on earth* tells us nothing about *where* on earth, and the person who added the comment is no more interested in teaching about it than he is about the content of the new creation. The Mountain of the East probably is where the ark rested. Cf. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 19. Sinai is where Torah was given.

[2] For a list of the rabbinic sources in which it is mentioned, cf. Hugo Odeberg, "Ἑνώχ," *TDNT*, Vol. II, p. 557.

Our sources and methods simply do not enable us to tell precisely when the verse became a part of the genealogy and who placed it there. If A knew and included the tradition, he has made no attempt to interpret it the way that he interpreted the other elements of the genealogy.[2] The absence of the motif in our other known Enoch traditions and the suspicion concerning A's knowledge of it lead us to believe that R_2 is the one who not only has interpreted the verse, but has added it to the discourse. As in his other additions, he has not interpreted the text before him, but has enlarged its scope to include the Temple and Mt. Zion as vital parts of its concern.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] With no difficulty whatsoever he could have turned it into support for the sacrificial lasws in the discourse. He has supported other elements of his Torah by appealing to the heavenly realm. The angels were born circumcised (xv, 27), they celebrated Shevuoth in heaven before it was celebrated on earth (vi, 18), and they celebrated the Sabbath (ii, 30).

B. x, 1-17

In x, 1 the date the third week of this jubilee introduces a unit concerning the imprisonment of the spirits of the offspring of the Watchers (x, 1-17).[1] The unit has been constructed from several separate traditions,[2] and its purpose now is to warn the reader that although most of the evil demons were imprisoned, a tenth still remain to cause men to stray from Torah. Vs. 17 reminds the reader that a record is kept of his deeds. The warning of judgment is implicit, but the term until the day of judgment is a stock expression. The emphasis is on the idea that a record is being kept, not on details of the day of judgment.

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[1] I En. xv-xvi has a lengthy version of the origin of these spirits.

[2] A tradition concerning the imprisonment of the demons (vss. 1-9, 10b-11, 13b) has been united with one about the responsibility of the Angels of the Presence for instructing Noah in medicine (vss. 10a, 12-13a, 14). The prayer in vs. 3 may originally have been a part of a collection of prayers and blessings of the ancestors. Otherwise, it is difficult to see why the prayer in vss. 3-6 is part poetry, part prose. A liturgical fragment has been expanded. The biographical information in vss. 15-17 has been built on the information in Gen. ix, 28-29. It supplies the closing framework for the material on Noah. Vs. 17b, however, is not a statement about Noah, but about Enoch. It explains why Enoch lived longer than Noah. Enoch was not more faithful than Noah. He simply had a function to perform.

C. x, 18-26

Jub. x, 18-26 is a unit about the Tower of Babel. Its point is that God judges men for their pride. Until the day of judgment men will live in tension and disunity because of that pride.[1] Again, the expression until the day of judgment is a stock phrase.

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[1] The unit is introduced with the standard dating notation--And in the thirty-third jubilee, in the first year, in the second week...(x,18). The statement of the date in x, 27 indicates that a new unit begins there. The two units are related, however, in that the scattering of men when the tower was destroyed led to Canaan's settlement in a land not his own.

The purpose of the builders has been modified from the biblical quest for reputation and security to a desire to climb to heaven. The emphasis has thus been shifted from the attempt to create their own fame and prestiege to the desire to have access to the home of the gods. The narrator of the present account simply has misunderstood the goal of the builders, not the point of the story.

APPENDIX III

TRANSLATION OF RELEVANT PASSAGES

A. Prologue

This is an account of the division of the days of Torah and of the testimony--of the events of the years, of their weeks, of their jubilees throughout all the years of the world--as the Lord spoke to Moses on Mt. Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of Torah and of the Commandment, in accordance with the voice of God as he told him, "Go up to the top of the mountain."

B. Jubilees i

(1) Now it came to pass in the first year of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt--in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month--that God spoke to Moses, saying, "Come up to me on the mountain, and I will give you the two stone tablets of Torah and of the commandment which I have written so that you may teach them."

(2) So Moses went up onto the mountain of God, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. (3) Then (God) called to Moses on the seventh day, out of the midst of the cloud, and the

appearance of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mountain.

(4) And Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights, and God made known to him an account of the past and the future, of the division of all the days of Torah and of the testimony.

(5) And God said, "Incline your heart to every word which I shall speak to you on this mountain, and write them in a book so that their descendants may know that I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have done in straying[1] and forsaking the covenant which I establish between myself and you this day on Mount Sinai for their generations. (6) And thus it shall come to pass, when all these things come upon them, that they will recognize that I am more faithful[2] than they in all their judgments and in all their actions; and they will realize that I have truly been with them.

(7) "And you, write for yourself all these words which I declare to you this day, for I know their rebellion and their stubbornness before I bring them into the land which I

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[1] The Ethiopic is causative. I have translated straying and forsaking as participles, for this is the only way to make sense. There must be a corruption at some point in the transmission. And forsaking is the reading in the British museum mss.

[2] On the translation faithful, cf. pp. 35-36.

swore to their fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, 'Unto your seed will I give a land flowing with milk and honey.' (8) And they will eat and be satisfied, and they will turn to strange gods that cannot deliver them from any of their tribulation. And this testimony will be heard as a testimony against them; (9) for they will forget all my commandments--everything that I command--and they will follow the way of the Gentiles, copying their uncleaness and their shameful ways, and serve their gods, and these will prove to be an offense for them, a tribulation, and affliction, and a snare, (10) and many will perish. And they will be taken captive and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken my ordinances and my commandments, and the festivals of my covenant, and my sabbaths, and my holy place, which I have hallowed for myself in their midst, and my tabernacle, and my sanctuary, which I have hallowed for myself in the midst of the land, making it a dwelling place for my name, which I set upon it. (11) And they will make for themselves high places and groves and graven images, and each will worship his own graven image, so that all of them will go astray. Moreover, they will sacrifice their children to demons and to all those things which their rebellious hearts desire.

(12) "And I shall send witnesses to them, so that I may bear witness against them, but they will not listen and

will murder the witnesses also. Moreover, they will persecute those who seek Torah, and they will ignore and let go of everything so as to work evil before my eyes.

(13) "So I shall hide my face from them, and I will deliver them into the hands of the Gentiles for captivity, for prey, and for devouring; and I will remove them from the midst of the land and scatter them among the Gentiles. (14) And they will forget all my commandments and all my judgments and will go astray as to hodeshim and sabbaths and festivals and jubilees and ordinances.

(15) "After this they will turn to me from among the Gentiles with all their heart and all their soul and all their strength, and I shall gather them from among all the Gentiles. They will seek me, and I shall be found by them when they seek me with all their heart and all their soul. And I shall disclose to them abounding peace in true faithfulness, (16) and with all my heart and all my soul I shall establish them as an upright plant. They will be the object of blessing, not of curse; they will be the head, not the tail. (17) And I shall build my sanctuary in their midst, and I shall dwell with them. I shall be their God, and they shall be my people, in truth and in faithfulness.[1] (18) I shall never forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God."

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[1] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

(19) Then Moses fell on his face and prayed, "O Lord, my God, do not forsake thy people and thine inheritance, lest they wander in the error of their hearts. And do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they rule over them and cause them to sin against thee. (20) Let thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up on thy people, and create in them an upright attitude. Let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before thee, ensnaring them so as to keep them from all the paths of faithfulness, thus allowing them to perish before thee. (21) They are thy people and thine inheritance, which thou hast delivered by thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians. Give them steadfast loyalty and an unswerving devotion.[1] Let them not be ensnared in their sins--now or ever."

(22) And the Lord said to Moses, "I know their contrariness, their thoughts, and their stubbornness. They will not be obedient until they confess their own sin and the sin of their fathers. (23) Then, afterwards, they will turn to me in all uprightness, with complete devotion, and I shall circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their children. I shall create in them a spirit of devotion, and I shall cleanse them

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[1] Literally, Create in them a clean heart and a consecrated spirit.

so that they shall not turn away from me from that day forward. (24) They will cling to me and to all my commandments, and they will obey my commandments; and I shall be their father, and they shall be my children. (25) They will all be called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit will know--yes, they will know--that these are my children, that I am their father, in uprightness and in faithfulness, and that I love them.

(26) You, write for yourself, therefore, all these things that I declare to you on this mountain, things past and things yet to be, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days of Torah and of the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees forever, until I descend and dwell with them forever."

(27) And he said to the Angel of the Presence, "Write for Moses (the things) from the beginning of the creation until my sanctuary is established among them to last forever. (28) And the Lord will reveal himself for all to see, and all will know that I am the God of Israel, the father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion, forever, and Zion and Jerusalem will be holy."

(29) Then the Angel of the Presence, who went before the camp of Israel, took the tables of the divisions of the years from the time of the creation, the tables of Torah and of the testimony, of the weeks, of the jubilees

according to their individual years, from the day of the creation until the heavens and the earth are renewed and all that is in them--the powers of the heaven[1] and the whole created earth--until the sanctuary of the Lord is established in Jerusalem on Mount Zion and all the luminaries are renewed for healing, for peace, and for blessing for all the elect of Israel. And thus it shall be throughout all the years of the earth.

C. Jubilees iv, 16-26

(16) And in the eleventh jubilee, Jared took to himself a wife, and her name was Baraka, the daughter of Rasujal, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth week of this jubilee. And she bore him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and he called his name Enoch. (17) And Enoch was the first among men that are born on earth who learned writing, knowledge, and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of their separate months. (18) And he was the first to write a testimony and he testified to the sons of men among

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[1] Ethiopic: according to the powers...

the generations of the earth. He recounted the weeks of the jubilees, told them of the days of the years, set in order the months, and recounted the sabbaths of the years as we revealed them to him. (19) And he saw the past and the future in a vision of his sleep--what will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment. He saw and understood everything, wrote his testimony, and placed his testimony on the earth for all the children of men and their generations.

(20) And in the twelfth jubilee--in its second week--he took for himself a wife. Her name was Edni, the daughter of Dan-el, the daughter of his father's brother. In the sixth year of this week she bore him a son, and he named him Methuselah. (21) Moreover, he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything that is on earth and in the heavens--everything under the sun. And he wrote down everything. (22) And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men. For they had begun to intermarry with the daughters of men, defiling themselves. And Enoch testified against them all.

(23) And he was taken from among the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden, in majesty and honor. And take note, there he records the condemnation and judgment of the world--all the wickedness of

the children of men. (24) Because of it, God brought the flood waters on all the land of Eden. For there he was set as a sign, that he might testify against all the children of men, that he might recount all the deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation.

(25) And he burned the incense of the sanctuary--sweet spices acceptable before the Lord--on the Mount. (26) For the Lord has four places on the earth--the Garden of Eden, the Mount of the East, this mountain on which you are this day (Mount Sinai), and Mount Zion, which will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth. Through it the earth will be sanctified from all guilt and its uncleanness throughout the generations of the earth.

D. Jubilees v, 1-19

(1) And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply upon the face of the earth and daughters were born to them, that the angels of God, in a certain year of this jubilee, saw that they were beautiful to look upon. And they took for themselves wives--anyone they chose--and they bore them sons. And they were giants. (2) And lawlessness increased upon the earth. All flesh corrupted its way--men, cattle, beasts, birds, and everything that walks on the earth. All of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other.

Lawlessness increased on the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of all men was continually evil.

(3) And God looked upon the earth, and behold, it was corrupt. All flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all sorts of evil before him. (4) And he said he would destroy man and all flesh he had created upon the face of the earth. (5) But Noah found favor in the eyes of the Lord. (6) And against the angels he had sent upon the earth he was extremely angry. And he gave an order to root them out of all their domain, and he ordered us to bind them in the depths of the earth. And behold, they are bound in the midst of those depths and are forsaken. (7) And against their sons went forth a command from before his face that they should be smitten with the sword and removed from under heaven. (8) And he said, "My spirit shall not rest on man forever; for they are flesh, and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years." (9) And he sent his sword into their midst that each should murder his neighbor. And they began to kill each other until they all fell by the sword and were destroyed from the earth.

(10) And their fathers watched, and afterwards they were bound in the depths of the earth forever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment will be exe-

cuted on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord.

(11) And he destroyed all from their places. And not one was left whom he did not judge according to all their wickedness. (12) And he made for all his works a new and faithful nature, so that they might not sin in their whole nature forever, but should all be faithful, each in his own kind, always.

(13) And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets concerning faithfulness[1]--the judgment of all who depart from the path that is ordained for them to walk in. And if they do not walk therein, judgment is written for every creature and for every kind.
(14) There is nothing in heaven or on earth, in light or in darkness (which will not be judged). All their judgments are ordained, written, and engraved. (15) With regard to all, he will judge--the great in accordance with his greatness and the small in accordance with his smallness --each in accordance with his own way. (16) And he is not one who will pay attention to the reputation of anyone. Nor is he one who will accept a bribe. If he says he will execute judgment on each, and someone gives everything that is on the earth, he will not pay attention to the gifts

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[1] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

or the reputation of the man nor accept anything from his hands, for he is a faithful judge.

(17) But of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in faithfulness, he will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. (18) It is written and ordained that he will show mercy to all who turn from their guilt once a year.

(19) And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted, excepting that of Noah alone. For his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom God saved from the flood waters on his account; for his heart was faithful in all his ways, with regard to everything that was commanded him, and he had not departed from anything that was ordained for him.[1]

E. Jubilees ix, 14-15

(14) Thus, the sons of Noah divided the land among their sons in the presence of Noah, their father, and he bound them all by an oath, calling down a curse on everyone who seeks to seize a portion that did not fall to his lot. (15) And they all said, "So be it; so be it," for themselves and for their sons forever, throughout their

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[1] On the translation faithfulness and faithful, cf. pp. 35-36.

generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God will judge them with a sword and with fire for all the unclean wickedness of their errors by which they have filled the earth with transgression, uncleanness, fornication, and sin.

F. Jubilees x, 15-17

(15) And Noah slept with his fathers and was buried on Mount Lubar in the land of Ararat. (16) Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life--nineteen jubilees, two weeks, and five years. (17) And in his earthly life he exceeded the children of men--excepting Enoch, because of his perfect faithfulness.[1] For Enoch's office was ordained as a testimony to the generations of the world, for him to recount all the deeds of each generation until the day of judgment.

G. Jubilees x, 22

(The preceding verses tell of the evil spirits leading Noah's grandsons astray, the binding of the spirits--excepting a tenth, who remain free to do Mastema's bidding--Noah writing down the secrets of medicine, and the grandsons of Noah building the Tower of Babel.)

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[1] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

(22) And the Lord our God said to us: "Look, they are one people and have begun to work thus. Now nothing will be impossible for them. Come, let us go down and confuse their language so that they cannot understand each other's speech, and they will be scattered into cities and towns; and a single purpose will abide with them no longer until the day of judgment.

H. Jubilees xv, 26, 33-34

(The subject of the chapter is circumcision. The unit describes the origin and importance of the rite.)

...(26) And everyone who is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made with Abraham, but to the children of destruction. Nor is there any sign on him that he is the Lord's. Rather, he is destined to be destroyed, slain from the earth, and rooted out of the earth. For he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God.

... ...

(33) And now I tell you that the children of Israel will not remain true to this ordinance. They will not circumcise their sons according to this law. For they will omit this circumcision of the flesh of their sons. All of them--sons of Beliar--will leave their sons uncircumcised,

just as they were born. (34) And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken his covenant, turned aside from his word, and provoked and blasphemed in that they do not observe the ordinance of this law. For they have treated their members as do the Gentiles. Thus, they shall be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness for them for the sin of this eternal error.

I. Jubilees xvi, 9

(The preceding verses tell both of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and of the sin of Lot and his daughters.)

(9) And note: it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed on the heavenly tablets, to remove them, root them out, execute judgment on them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation.

J. Jubilees xxii, 20-21

(20) Beware, my son, of taking a wife from any of the daughters of Canaan. For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.

(21) For in the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred;
And all his seed, all who remain of him,
Shall be destroyed from the earth;

And none springing from him
Shall be saved on the day of judgment.

K. Jubilees xxiii, 9-31

(8) And (Abraham) lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of years.

(9) For the days of the lives of the forefathers were nineteen jubilees, but after the flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees--to decrease in jubilees, to grow old quickly, to diminish their days, and to finish their lives in much sickness and in the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of Abraham. (10) For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and he was pleasing in faithfulness[1] all the days of his life when he grew old in the face of the wickedness and was full of days.

(11) And all the generations which arise from this time until the day of the great judgment shall grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees; and their knowledge shall forsake them because of their old age; All their knowledge shall vanish away. (12) And in those days, if a man lives a jubilee and a half of years, they shall say of him, "He has lived a long time, but the major part

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[1] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

of his life is pain and sorrow and tribulation, and there is no peace. (13) For calamity follows upon calamity, wound upon wound, tribulation upon tribulation, evil tidings upon evil tidings, illness upon illness. And all evil judgments such as these come each with the other--illness, upset, snow, frost, ice, fever, chills, numbness, famine, death, sword, captivity--all sorts of calamity and sickness."

(14) All these shall come upon an evil generation which incurrs guilt upon the earth through the uncleanness, the harlotry, the pollution, and the abomination of their ways.

(15) Then they shall say, "The days of the elders were many--up to a thousand years--and were good. But behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten; and if he is strong, four score years. And these are evil. And there is no peace in the days of this evil generation."

(16) In that generation, the sons will convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unfaithfulness, of the words of their mouth, of the great wickedness which they do, and of their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and himself, that they should observe and keep all his commandments and ordinances and all his instructions without departing either to the right hand or to the left.

(17a) For all have done evil;
(17b) Every mouth speaks iniquity.
(17c) All their deeds are an uncleanness and an
abomination;
(17d) All their ways are pollution, uncleanness, and
destruction.
(18a) Behold, the earth shall be destroyed because of
all their deeds,
(18b) And there will be no seed of the vine
and no oil.
(18c) For the deeds of all are unfaithful,
(18d) And they shall all perish together--
(18e) Beasts, cattle, birds, and all the fish
of the sea--
(18f) On account of all the children of men.[1]

(19) And they shall strive with one another--the young with the old, the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince--because of Torah and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, covenant, feasts, months, sabbaths, and jubilees and all judgments. (20) And they shall stand with bows and swords to turn them back into the way; but they shall not return until much blood has been shed on the

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[1] On vss. 17-18 as poetry, cf. p.72.

earth one by another. (21) (And those who have escaped shall not return from their wickedness to the way of faithfulness,[1] for all of them shall elevate themselves to deceit and wealth, while each takes all that is his brothers. They also shall name the Great Name, but not in truth and not in faithfulness. And they shall defile the Holy of Holies with their uncleanness and their rotten impurity.)

(22) A great punishment shall fall upon this generation from the Lord, and he will give them over to the sword, to judgment, to captivity, to plunder, and to devouring. (23) And he will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles,

Who have neither mercy nor compassion
    And who respect no person, young or old,
        nor anyone;
For they are more wicked and are stronger to do evil
    Than all the children of men.
And they will use violence against Israel
    And transgression against Jacob,
And much blood will be shed upon the earth,
    And there will be none to gather
        and none to bury.[2]

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[1] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

[2] On vs. 23 as poetry, cf. p. 58.

(24) In those days they will cry aloud
And call and pray that they may be saved
from the hands of the sinners of
the nations;
But none will be saved.
(25) And the heads of the children will be white
with gray hair,
And a child of three weeks will appear old
like a man of one hundred years,
And their stature will be destroyed
by tribulation and oppression.
(26) And in those days the children will begin
to study the laws,
And to seek the commandments,
And to return to the paths of faithfulness.[1]
(27) And the days will begin to multiply
And to increase among the children of men.
Till their days grow nigh to almost a thousand
years,
To a greater number of years than was
the number of the days before.
(28) And there shall be no old man,
Nor one who is (not) satisfied with his days,
For all shall be as children and as youths.

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[1] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

(29) All of their days they shall live and complete
in health and in joy.
There shall be no adversary,[1]
nor any evil destroyer.
Thus, all their days shall be days of
blessing and healing.
(30) At that time, the Lord will heal his servants,
And they shall rise up and be made whole.
And drive out their adversaries.
The faithful shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy forever,
And shall see all their judgments
And all their curses on their enemies.
(31) Then their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy;
And they shall know that it is the Lord
who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands,
And to all that love him.

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[1] On the translation adversary, cf. pp. 65-66.

L. Jubilees xxiv, 28-33

(28) And on that day Isaac cursed the Philistines and said:

"Cursed be the Philistines, until the day of
wrath and indignation,
From the midst of all the nations.
May God make them a derision, a curse, and
an object of wrath and indignation
In the hands of the sinners of the Gentiles
And in the hands of the Kittim.

(29) And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the faithful nation root out in judgment from under heaven. For they shall be the enemies of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

(30) And no remnant shall be left to them,
Nor one that shall be saved
on the day of the wrath of judgment.
For destruction, rooting out, and expulsion
from the earth
Is the whole seed of the Philistines.
And there shall no longer be left for
these Caphtorim
A name or a seed on the earth.

(31) For though he ascend unto heaven,
From there shall he be brought down;
And though he make himself strong on earth,
Even from there shall he be rooted out.
And though he descend into Sheol,
There also shall his condemnation be great;
Even there shall he have no peace.
(32) And if he goes into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life
Shall they slay him on the way.
And neither name nor seed shall be left to him on all the earth;
For into eternal malediction shall he depart."

(33) And thus it is written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets to do to him on the day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

M. Jubilees xxxi, 12-20

(12) And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and (Isaac) took Levi by his right hand and Judah by his left. (13) Then he turned first to Levi and began to bless him first and said to him:

"May the God of all, the Lord of all the ages,
Bless you and your children
throughout all the ages.

(14) And may the Lord give you and your seed greatness and great glory, and cause your seed, from among all flesh, to approach him and to serve him in his sanctuary, as the Angels of the Presence and as the holy ones. As they, may the seed of your sons be glorified, made great, and sanctified, and may he make them great throughout all the ages.[1]

(15a) Judges, princes, and chiefs shall they be
Over all the seed of Jacob.
(15b) They shall speak the word of the Lord
in faithfulness
And declare all his judgments
in faithfulness.[2]
(15c) They shall declare my ways to Jacob,
And my paths to Israel.
(15d) The blessing of the Lord shall be in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

(16a) Your mother has called your name Levi,
And rightly has she named you;

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[1] On vs. 14 as a prose interjection, cf. pp. 103-104.

[2] On the translation faithfulness, cf. pp. 35-36.

(16b) You shall be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the
sons of Jacob.
(16c) His table shall be yours,
And you and your sons shall eat thereof.
(16d) May your table be filled unto all generations,
And your food not fail throughout the ages.
(17a) Let all who hate you fall before you,
And let all your adversaries be rooted out
and perish.
(17b) Blessed be he that blesses you,
And cursed be every nation that curses you."

(18a) And to Judah he said:

(18b) "The Lord give you strength and power
To tread down all who hate you.
(18c) Judge shall you be, you and one of your sons,
Over the sons of Jacob.
(18d) May your name and the name of your sons go forth
And traverse every land and region.
(18e) Then will the Gentiles tremble before you,
And all the nations will quake;
(And all the peoples will quake.)

(19) In you will be found the help of Jacob,
And in you will be found the deliverance
of Israel.
(20a) When you sit on the throne of the honor
of your faithfulness,
(20b) There will be great peace for all the sons
of the beloved.

(20c) Blessed be he that blesses you,
(20d) But let all that hate, afflict, and curse you
be rooted out, destroyed from the earth,
and accursed.

N. Jubilees xxxvi, 9-11

(9) And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from now on everyone who devises evil against his brother shall fall into his hand and shall be rooted out of the land of the living. His seed shall be destroyed from under heaven. (10) And on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming, devouring fire, as he burned Sodom, so will he burn his land, his city, and all that is his. And he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction. And he shall depart into eternal execration, so that their condemnation may

always be renewed in hate and in execration and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease forever. (11) I speak and testify to you, my sons, in accordance with the judgment which shall come upon the man who wishes to injure his brother.

O. Jubilees 1, 1-5

(1) Then, after this law, I revealed to you the days of the sabbaths in the desert of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai. (2) And on Mount Sinai, I told you of the sabbaths of the land. And I told you of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of the years. (But I have not told you of the year until you enter the land which you are to possess.) (3) And let the sabbaths of the land also be kept while they dwell upon it, and let them keep the jubilee year. (4) To this end I have ordained for you the year weeks and the years and the jubilees. There are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day and one week and two years. And there are yet forty years for learning the commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing over the Jordan to the west. (5) And the jubilees shall pass until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication and uncleanness and pollution and sin and error and dwells with confidence in

the land. Then, no longer shall there be an adversary or any evil one, and the land shall be clean from this time forevermore.

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